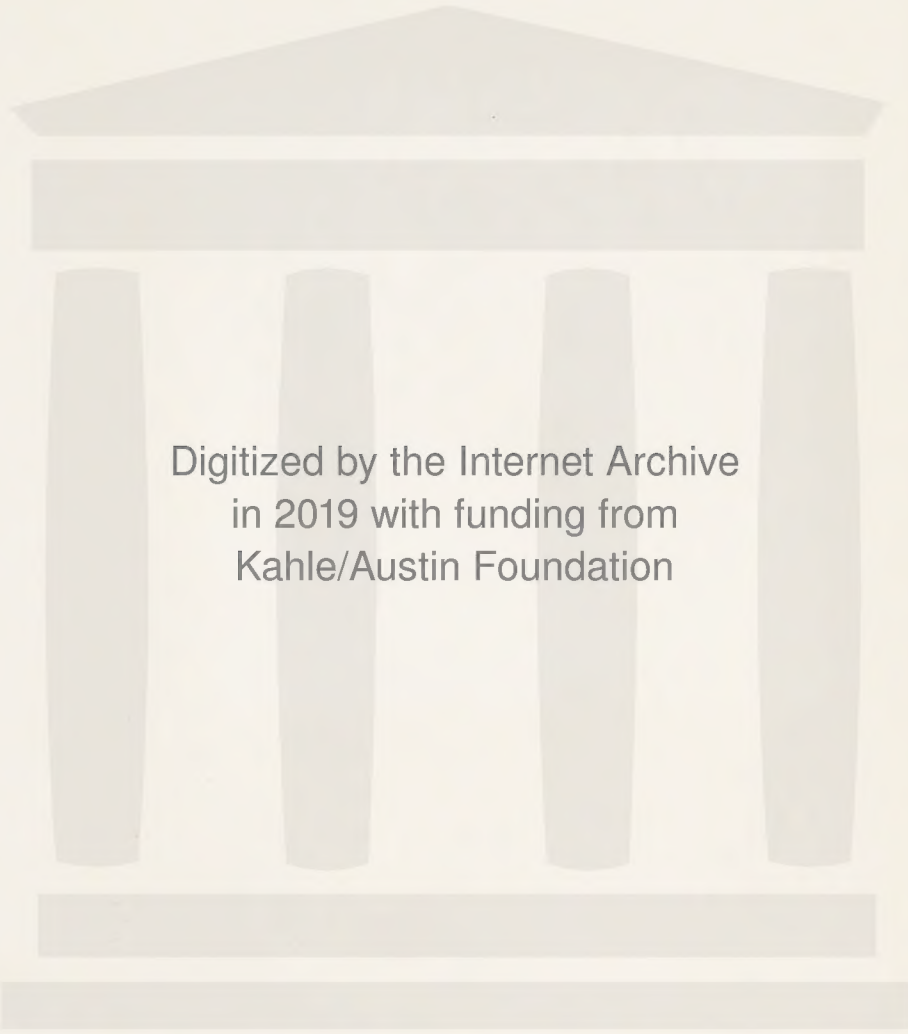


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L. LAMONTAGNE, et P. G. CORNELL

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THE BACKBONE OF CANADA

COLONEL C. P. STACEY

Historical Section, Army Headquarters, Ottawa
President, Canadian Historical Association

The sequence of events which I am going to comment on this evening may be said to have begun somewhat indefinitely in the earliest days of the French régime in Canada; but it ended at a perfectly definite time and place, on November 7, 1885, in Eagle Pass, when Donald A. Smith drove the last spike of the C. P. R. It is the story of the process that produced a truly national highway from sea to sea — a highway built entirely through Canadian territory, and one that could be used at every season of the year.

Much of this story is almost painfully familiar. The building of the Canadian Pacific lies within the purview of the poets, at one end of the literary scale, and the writers of school histories at the other. But that was only the final episode in a long succession, and some of the earlier ones are probably not quite so well known. The subject as a whole seems to merit the consideration of this Association; for in Canada more than in most countries the history of the building of the state is the history of the development of communications.

It was only after the reorganization of North America at the end of the American Revolution that the problem entered a really acute phase, and it is at that point that I propose to take up the tale. I shall organize my commentary geographically, by sections, beginning in the east; but in the nature of things, in this case, a geographical arrangement is, very largely, a chronological one too.

I

The new and smaller British North America that emerged from the convulsion of the Revolution consisted of two regional groupings. One, the Province of Quebec, lay in the Laurentic Basin; it was shortly to expand westward and split into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. The other was the group of island and mainland colonies on the Atlantic coast, five in number after 1784. Looking at British North America in national terms, which very few people did at that time, the basic national problem was communication between these two regions. Indeed, good communication between Quebec and the seaboard was simply a condition of existence for Canada as a British colony. As long as the United States was actually or potentially hostile, and its population was a dozen times that of British North America, the security of Canada would depend upon the ability of forces from the United Kingdom to reach the Upper St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes.

British sea power ensured the safety of transatlantic communications and, as a corollary, the safety of the Maritime colonies. It also ensured the communications between Britain and Canada, and between

Halifax and Quebec — but only during the summer season. For about five months of every year, the St. Lawrence was sealed by ice; and the regularity with which difficulties with the United States took place during this period is a striking feature of our history.

In these circumstances, the state of overland communication between Canada and the Atlantic ports was a matter of fundamental importance; and the extraordinary thing is that the Britons who negotiated the peace with the American colonies in 1782-83 apparently never gave it a thought. There was an overland communication, well known if not well travelled. It ran up the St. John valley to that river's junction with the Madawaska; up the Madawaska to Lake Temiscouata and across the lake; and thence across what was sometimes called the "Grand Portage", some 36 miles of rough and rocky wilderness, to reach the St. Lawrence at Notre Dame du Portage above Rivière du Loup. This portage is indicated on Mitchell's 1755 map of North America by the words "Carriages to Canada"; but it is certain that no carriage had ever passed over it. During the last stages of the American Revolution, Governor Haldimand used it for sending dispatches to Halifax, New York and London, and in 1783 he took steps to improve the portage road to the point where it could be used by laden horses.¹ But this escaped the notice of British diplomatists, who in their eagerness to make peace (which the House of Commons had formally demanded) completely failed to consider the permanent military security of British North America. Thirty years later, after another war, Lord Castlereagh remarked that the treaty of 1783 had been "very hastily and improvidently framed in this respect".²

Contrary to common opinion, the weakness of the settlement did not consist merely in the fact that it interposed a great wedge of American territory between the Maritime colonies and Canada. It is true that this permanently condemned the British colonies to a roundabout line of communication; but since the only existing line of communication was itself very roundabout this was not then a serious practical difficulty. What mattered was the fact that even this route — the sole winter communication between the Atlantic seaboard and Quebec — was not merely threatened but actually severed by the terms of the treaty as they appear to have been understood by both sides at the time. On the "King George map" from the Royal Archives, the red line marked "Boundary as described by Mr. Oswald" actually runs through the words "Carriages to Canada" and the broken line marking the Grand Portage; and it throws Lake Temiscouata and much of the neighbouring territory into the United States.³ In a military sense such a frontier was merely impossible. Here is much

¹Historical Section, General Staff, *A History of the Organization, Development and Services of the Military and Naval Forces of Canada* . . . (3 vols. published, Ottawa, 1919-21), III, 237-41.

²Charles Vane, Marquess of Londonderry, ed., *Correspondence, Despatches and Other Papers, of Viscount Castlereagh* (London, 1853), X, 70. On the negotiations of 1782-3, see A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* (Toronto and Minneapolis, 1933), 329-34.

³Facsimile of King George Map, Map Division, Public Archives of Canada. The handwriting is said to be George III's.

of the explanation of the long Maine boundary dispute. When in the fulness of time the true facts were brought home to later British governments, they were driven to undignified expedients to repair the damage done by Shelburne's ministry. They were in fact obliged to argue that the treaty did not mean what the British representatives who negotiated it pretty obviously intended it to mean. This is not to say that the later governments were necessarily dishonest. One suspects that they found it impossible to believe that anybody could really have been so stupid as Richard Oswald and his superiors were in 1782-83.

However, it is only fair to say that most of the Canadian historians and publicists who have criticized Oswald and Shelburne have made much the same basic mistake that those gentlemen themselves made: namely, they have failed to see the national importance of the Temiscouata road, or the fact that this road was the most vital interest that was at stake.⁴ They have considered the boundary dispute, as a rule, only in terms of square miles of territory, though much of the territory in question is of very little value even today. Our historical atlases all contain handsome maps of the Maine dispute. These invariably illustrate with neat coloured lines the various British and American claims; they sometimes show the boundary proposed by the King of the Netherlands in 1831; they show the final settlement; in fact, they show everything except the feature that was the real hub of the controversy, the Temiscouata road. One cannot help feeling that the compilers of these works have been somewhat in the position of Old Kaspar: *What they (nearly) fought each other for, They cannot well make out.*

It was the War of 1812 that first directed real attention to the importance of the Temiscouata route. The road now did more than provide for the mere transit of dispatches. It enabled officers whose services were urgently required in Canada to make their way thither during the winter months. Most of the journey had to be made on snowshoes.⁵ Even so, the route also served for the movement of large bodies of troops. The 104th Regiment made a famous and arduous march over it through the snow early in 1813; and the following winter another battalion, and a party of 200 seamen for the Great Lakes, similarly passed over it into Canada.⁶ The British government's increasing sense of its importance is reflected in the orders given Sir John Sherbrooke in 1814 to "occupy so much of the District of Maine, as shall assure an uninterrupted communication between Halifax & Quebec".⁷ This led to the occupation of Castine. (The port dues

⁴See, e.g., Thomas Hodgins, *British and American Diplomacy affecting Canada, 1782-1899* (Toronto, 1900).

⁵Sir George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America* (London, 1829), 95 ff.

⁶William Kingsford, *History of Canada*, VIII (Toronto, 1895), 286-7. M. A. Pope; "The March of the 104th Foot from Fredericton to Quebec, 1813" (*Canadian Defence Quarterly*, July 1930) contains a contemporary account of the march over the Temiscouata portage. *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1896, State Papers, Lower Canada, 18, 22, Prevost to Bathurst, Jan. 14 and Mar. 12, 1814.

⁷P.A.C., Series C, vol. 685, Sherbrooke to Prevost, Aug. 2, 1814. Cf. A. T. Mahan, *Sea Power in its Relations to the War of 1812* (2 vols., London, 1905), II, 353-4, and George F. G. Stanley, "British Operations on the Penobscot in 1814" (*Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, XIX, 1940).

collected there by the British were later used to found Dalhousie University.) It seems quite possible that the occupation of eastern Maine may have been intended to build up a claim for rectification of the boundary in the peace treaty, such as would secure the Temiscouata road beyond all question.

This hope was disappointed, and in the next period the dispute waxed hotter. The British government now recognized that it had a decisive strategic interest in the disputed territory; and the gradual advance of settlement added to the danger of a collision. The rebellions in Canada in 1837, and the border troubles that followed, again underlined the absolute indispensability of the Temiscouata road to British interests. The crisis arose, as usual, after the close of navigation; but the road, which though still very bad had now been improved to the point where sleighs could be used on it, was the means of reinforcing Canada from the Maritime Provinces. Three battalions of infantry and a company of artillery came up through the New Brunswick woods⁸; and the knowledge that they were coming enabled Sir John Colborne to send part of his small regular force to protect the menaced frontier of Upper Canada. When a second rebellion, combined with invasion by sympathizers in the United States, took place a year later, another battalion made the trip over the Temiscouata route.⁹ Colborne had already pointed the moral for the benefit of London: "The value of the communication by the Portage to the valley of the St. Lawrence should never be forgotten in the adjustment of the boundary question".¹⁰

Immediately after this demonstration the boundary dispute in fact entered its final and worst phase. Conflicts of jurisdiction between Maine and New Brunswick in the disputed territory led to the bloodless but very dangerous episode known as the Aroostook War. On the British side this crisis was marked by the movement of troops to protect the overland communication,¹¹ which was finally safeguarded by a continuous chain of military posts. Lord Sydenham wrote to Sir John Harvey in November 1840, "My instructions from Her Majesty's Government are not to permit Maine to occupy or possess Land to the North of the St. John's and to maintain in perfect security, the Communication by the Madawaska between Fredericton and Quebec; whatever, therefore, is indispensable for that purpose, must be done."¹² It was fortunate, in these circumstances, that the "encroachments" of the men of Maine were limited to the south bank of the St. John. Had they attempted to take post upon the British road, instead of merely adjacent to it, it would have been very difficult to avoid war.

Many, indeed, thought that the British attitude made war actually inevitable. In 1839 the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Com-

⁸"The Canadian Revolt" (*United Service Journal*, 1838, Part II), 154. Cf. P.A.C., Series C, vol. 1272, Colborne to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Feb. 10, 1838.

⁹*Historical Record of the Eleventh, or, the North Devon Regiment of Foot* . . . (London, 1845), 85.

¹⁰P.A.C., Series C, vol. 1272, Colborne to Somerset, Jan. 25, 1838.

¹¹See Harvey's dispatches of February and March 1839, P.A.C., C.O. 188, vol. 200.

¹²Nov. 23, 1840: P.A.C., Series Q, vol. 274 pt. 1.

mittee in the United States House of Representatives wrote to the American Minister to England that he felt there could be no compromise so long as the United States admitted the right of Maine to interfere, and so long as the British were determined to have a road. "Indeed", he wrote, "Mr. Fox [the British Minister] once said to me very significantly that they could not do without that road. Now when people have made up their minds all argument is idle wind."¹³ It was to the credit of Daniel Webster, who became Secretary of State in 1841, that he drew a different conclusion from the facts. He appears to have come to the view that since the British considered the road essential to the mere existence of British North America, and since they had made it amply clear that they would fight rather than give it up, the sensible thing was to let them have it. Accordingly, he approached Britain with a proposal which contained the germs of settlement — to abandon the intricate and fruitless argument over the interpretation of the treaty of 1783 and to treat for a "conventional" or compromise line. The negotiations between himself and Lord Ashburton began with the recognition on Ashburton's side that Britain's one essential interest was the maintenance of communications between the provinces, while Webster on his acknowledged "the general justice and propriety of this object".¹⁴ And the treaty which they made did in fact secure to British North America the Temiscouata-Madawaska road.

Thus at the end of the long dispute the most truly vital British and Canadian interest was safeguarded. There is no reason whatever to believe that Ashburton, given the material he had to work with, could have got a better bargain. He had a very clear view of the elements of the situation, and his judgement of it seems rather sounder, in the light of facts as we know them today, than that of the generals who advised the British government. They particularly wanted to push the boundary as far from the St. Lawrence as possible in that section where it parallels the river; whereas Ashburton thought it more desirable to get land south of the St. John, in the Madawaska Settlement.¹⁵ In the region about which the generals were so sensitive, Ashburton, acting under instructions, did obtain a "better" frontier than that of the Dutch award of 1831. In this area today there is still a good hundred miles of the international boundary which is uncrossed by a single practicable road. Whether the line ran a few miles farther north or south through this wilderness was comparatively unimportant. There is no doubt that in the matter of the Maine boundary British diplomacy was guilty of a crime against Canada; but

¹³Library of Congress, Stevenson Papers, Benjamin C. Howard to Andrew Stevenson, May 30, 1839. I owe this reference to Professor A. B. Corey. See his *The Crisis of 1830-1842 in Canadian-American Relations* (New Haven, 1941), 114, 159.

¹⁴U. S. Senate Documents, 27th Congress, 3rd Session, No. 1, pp. 34, 39, 44, Ashburton to Webster, June 13 and 21, 1842; Webster to Ashburton, July 8, 1842.

¹⁵J. R. Baldwin, "The Ashburton-Webster Boundary Settlement" (*Canadian Historical Association, Report of the Annual Meeting*, 1938). E. D. Adams, "Lord Ashburton and the Treaty of Washington" (*American Historical Review*, XVII, July, 1912.)

it was committed, not by Lord Ashburton in 1842, but by Richard Oswald and his chiefs sixty years earlier.

The road had been saved, but only by a hair's-breadth. For a long distance it lay either directly on the boundary or within a very few miles of it. In case of war, it was clear, only the presence of a large force, and probably the occupation of a large extent of American territory, would ensure traffic against interruption. It was natural, therefore, that attempts should be made to develop a road more remote from the border. As early as 1829 the Lower Canada legislature undertook the construction of the Kempt Road across the base of the Gaspé peninsula. It ran from Metis on the St. Lawrence by way of Lake Matapédia to the Restigouche, whence there was road communication with Halifax. But settlement along this route obstinately declined to materialize. The road was never really completed and was soon slipping back into the wilderness from which it had been cut.¹⁶ No attempt was ever made to use it to move troops.

In 1844, with the boundary settled, another road project was set on foot. A survey was made of a cross-country route running from the Bend (now Moncton) to Grand Falls on the upper St. John, and thence generally paralleling the Temiscouata one a few miles to the east.¹⁷ The British government asked Canada and New Brunswick to help with this scheme, and they were at first disposed to do so;¹⁸ but then the idea of an Intercolonial Railway arose and pushed it into the background;¹⁹ and since the railway scheme afterwards collapsed the net result was nil. New Brunswick in the early thirties had had a great plan of its own, fostered by Governor Sir Archibald Campbell: the "Royal Road", a direct cross-country line between Fredericton and Grand Falls, both shorter and more secure than the route by the St. John valley. But this turned out to be another scheme that was never carried to completion.²⁰ Today there is still no cross-country highway between Fredericton and Grand Falls.

The breakdown of the Intercolonial Railway plan in 1852 — due mainly to the unwillingness of the British government to assist any railway not following a route remote from the frontier — and the failure to build a good highway by such a route, meant that when the next great Anglo-American crisis came, in 1861, British North America was still dependent for its most essential strategic communication on the old Temiscouata portage road. The news that an American cruiser had taken Confederate envoys off the British steamer

¹⁶P.A.C., Series G, vol. 123, p. 247, W. H. Griffin to T. A. Stayner, Dec. 14, 1845. On the construction of the Kempt Road, see Aylmer to Goderich, Apr. 18, 1831, *ibid.*, vol. 380, p. 36. See also J. S. Martell, "Intercolonial Communications, 1840-1867" (*Canadian Historical Association Report* 1938,) 51-2.

¹⁷P.A.C., Map Division, Sir James Alexander's "Outline map showing . . . the proposed Military Road from Quebec to Halifax", April 3, 1845. The map in vol. II of Alexander's *L'Acadie* (2 vols., London, 1849) puts the proposed road on the wrong side of the lake.

¹⁸Documents in P.A.C., Correspondence of Governor-General's Secretary, No. 4265.

¹⁹P.A.C., Series G, vol. 124, p. 74, Gladstone to Falkland, April 18, 1846.

²⁰See the correspondence in P.A.C., New Brunswick, Despatches Sent, IV. Cf. *Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick* . . . 1836, Appendix No. 3, and Index p. xvii (Bill no. 111).

Trent arrived just as the St. Lawrence navigation was about to close. The British government ordered over 11,000 troops to British North America. A desperate attempt was made to get those destined for Canada up the St. Lawrence before the ice closed it; but this failed, and in the early weeks of 1862 the largest military force ever to use the old overland route was passing over it in sleighs. Nearly 7,000 men with 18 guns were thus sent into Canada at this time.²¹ At the same time the attempt to produce an alternative road was renewed, this time successfully. The Canadian government had, in fact, begun in 1857 to build a new road from the St. Lawrence to the Restigouche by the Matapedia valley, following somewhat the same line as the Kempt Road. At the time of the *Trent* affair the British government took a great interest in advancing the enterprise. It was completed in 1867,²² and is now Quebec Highway No. 6.

After the crisis of 1861 no British or British American statesman could doubt that an intercolonial railway was a necessity. Strategic facts, demonstrated once more by the events of that year, reinforced the commercial pressure that had long been felt. It is not surprising that the sixty-eighth of the Seventy-Two Resolutions passed by the Quebec Conference provided that the new Dominion should arrange without delay for the construction of a railway between Rivière du Loup and Truro; and this undertaking was written into the British North America Act.

After a great deal of argument, the question of the route to be followed was settled in 1868, on the recommendation of Sandford Fleming, in favour of the north shore of New Brunswick. Fleming's letter to Sir John Macdonald indicates that his advice was based almost entirely on commercial considerations and particularly on the hope of obtaining through traffic by connecting with a port on the Bay of Chaleur.²³ This rather far-fetched idea may have had some influence with the Canadian government. It added weight to the military argument in favour of placing the line just as far from the frontier as possible. The British government had favoured such a line since the moment when the railway was first spoken of; and that government's financial support was vital to the project. It must be remembered that in 1868 the Fenian Brotherhood was still very active in the United States; the *Alabama* claims were still unsettled; and an Anglo-American war was still a definite possibility. In these circumstances, the line by the Matapedia and the North Shore made good sense. However, by the time it was completed, in 1876, there had already been a fundamental change for the better in Anglo-American relations. Many Canadian soldiers have travelled over the tracks of the old Intercolonial,

²¹C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army, 1846-1871* (London, 1936), 120-22.

²²P.A.C., Map Division, "Plan of the Metapediac Road from Ste. Flavie, on the St. Lawrence to Cross Point, at the head of Baie des Chaleurs . . ." P. A. C., Series G, vol. 166, p. 511, Newcastle to Monck, Dec. 28, 1861; and see documents in Series C, vol. 1671, pt. I.

²³P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, "Railways", vol. 2, pp. 6 ff., Fleming to Macdonald, March 3, 1868.

on their way to or from battlefields in Europe; but it has never had to serve the needs of defence against the United States.²⁴

That this railway was a political as well as a military necessity no one can doubt. There could have been no Confederation in 1867 without the Intercolonial. On the other hand, its completion nine years later, ensuring for the first time easy and rapid communication between Halifax and Quebec, twelve months in the year, over an all-Canadian route, gave Confederation a new reality. The Intercolonial was not a financial success, and for many years it was the butt of political jokes. The rival Short Line through Maine which the C.P.R. later acquired stands for the profit motive and reflects the pressure of commercial competition; but the Intercolonial's value to Canada could not be measured in dollars. It was one of those great projects essential to an independent Canadian nationality which have been forced upon this country by the proximity of the United States, and which have been carried out by government because private enterprise could not or would not do the job that was required. The closest parallel is probably the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

II

The development of the central section of the national system of communications — that in old Canada, from Quebec City to Lake Huron—presents a rather different picture. Here, after the early days, there was no belt of wilderness to be overcome. And the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes provided water transport all the way. But there were three obvious disadvantages to this natural artery which played, and still plays, such a vital part in the national economy. First, it was seriously interrupted by the St. Lawrence rapids and by Niagara Falls. Secondly, it could be used only in the summer months. Thirdly, it lay directly upon the border and was exposed to immediate severance by enemy action in time of war. Attempts to overcome these deficiencies constitute a great part of the nineteenth-century history of Canada.

One major sequence of these attempts centres in the canalization of the St. Lawrence, which is itself one of the great continuing themes of our history. This process was foreshadowed early in the eighteenth century, when the Sulpician Dollier de Casson tried to dig a canal at Lachine and nearly succeeded. It begins effectively during the War of the American Revolution, when the Royal Engineers constructed five small locks to facilitate the movement of men and supplies to the western posts.²⁵ The process has not ended yet.

The shortcomings of the existing St. Lawrence system, like those of the overland communication from Halifax, were painfully demonstrated during the War of 1812. The river rapids imposed tremendous

²⁴On the Intercolonial, see O. D. Skelton, *The Railway Builders* (Toronto, 1916), 105-8, and G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada* (Toronto, 1938), 203-15.

²⁵M. J. Patton in *Canada and its Provinces*, X, 506-7; Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec*, 287-8; *The Canals of Canada under the Jurisdiction of the Department of Transport* (Ottawa, 1946).

expense and delay on the support of the forces defending Upper Canada. This burden was rendered heavier by the needs of the ever-growing navy on the Lakes. Because the Lakes formed the only good line of communication the British had, naval control of them was essential if Upper Canada was to remain British. Naval superiority enabled Brock to win his victories in the 1812 campaign; the loss of naval superiority on Lake Erie the next year automatically resulted in the loss of the western part of the province; naval superiority on Lake Ontario was so absolutely vital that the two sides engaged in a back-breaking shipbuilding race. In 1814 Commodore Sir James Yeo was flying his broad pendant in a three-decker more powerful than Nelson's flagship at Trafalgar, and the Americans were building two ships which would have been the largest in the world. The British were at a grave strategic disadvantage. Their fighting front and their one essential line of communication were actually one and the same. The most important section of the communication was the St. Lawrence, up which passed almost all the men and material that made the defence of Upper Canada possible. It was the Americans' failure to strike effectively at this British lifeline that led Commodore Yeo to remark after the war, rudely but accurately, that the saving of Canada had been due in part to "the perverse stupidity of the enemy".

Nevertheless, the enemy, being Anglo-Saxon, had been slowly learning. Had there been an 1815 campaign, he had intended to cut the St. Lawrence line. What is more, when the shooting was over one of his generals told this to Sir Frederick Robinson, then commanding in Upper Canada; and Robinson lost no time in telling the British government and urging it to carry out the plan, already discussed, for opening an alternative communication by the back country. The ultimate result was the construction between 1819 and 1832 of the Ottawa-Rideau canal system, which provided a military supply-line between Montreal and Kingston quite independent of the St. Lawrence. It was the most expensive military work ever carried out by the British government in North America.²⁶ It had to be built at the expense of the British taxpayer, because the Canadian authorities, who presumably had not read Adam Smith, considered that opulence was much more important than defence. (Defence, after all, was a matter for the mother country.) Those Canadians who were interested in canals were far more devoted to improving the great commercial route by the St. Lawrence; they did set about improving it in 1834, and after the Union the job was finished with the aid of an imperial loan.²⁷

These various expensive canals were only a partial solution to the national problem, if only because they were useless for nearly half the year. The final answer lay with the railway builders. And in this central section of the country the problem was in the end comparatively easily solved. Across the fertile and populous lands of the Canadas railways sprouted in the fifties like asparagus in May. For once, commerce and security went hand in hand, and this part of the

²⁶C. P. Stacey, "An American Plan for a Canadian Campaign" (*American Historical Review*, XLVI, January, 1941.)

²⁷D. G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (Toronto, 1937), 271 ff., 342-4.

future nation's iron backbone was built with relatively little direct intervention by government, though not without a great deal of government assistance. By 1860, on the eve of the American Civil War, the Grand Trunk Railway was complete from Rivière du Loup to Sarnia.²⁸

III

The next section of the national highway was again a very different matter. When Canadians in the fifties began to look beyond the Lakes towards the North-West, they immediately became aware of the great barrier which is called today the Canadian Shield. This barrier's significance was thus described just at this time by Captain Palliser, who had been exploring in the West:

The manner in which natural obstacles have isolated the country from all other British possessions in the East is a matter of considerable weight; indeed, it is *the* obstacle of the country, and one, I fear, almost beyond the remedies of art. The egress and ingress to the [Red River] settlement from the east is obviously by the Red River Valley and through the States.²⁹

It is true that in the summer months steamer travel was possible from the settled regions of Canada West to the head of Lake Superior; but even beyond this point there were still some 400 miles of the rugged Shield to traverse before reaching the prairies. Twice in recent years the British government had sent troops to Red River; and both times they had been moved by way of Hudson Bay. Sir George Simpson had expressed the view that the canoe route west from Lake Superior was impracticable for any large body of troops.

The Canadians refused to allow such pessimistic estimates to daunt them. In 1857 the provincial government sent an expedition to determine the best route for a communication between Lake Superior and Red River. Two years later the expedition's surveyor, Simon J. Dawson, made a report advocating a line beginning with a road running inland from Thunder Bay, continuing with a central section of water transport interrupted by numerous portages, and ending with another road from the Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry. This was the origin of the Dawson Route, which was to play an important part in Canada's acquisition of the west.

Work on opening this route began even before Confederation; the activity connected with the building of the western terminal road had something to do with bringing on the disturbances at Red River Settlement in 1869; and the following year the Dawson Route served for the movement of Colonel Wolseley's expedition. It is not always realized just how vital this expedition was to the future of the West. We know that the desire to acquire the Hudson's Bay territories for the United States was powerful in Minnesota and influential in Washington; we know that the existence of Riel's provisional government at

²⁸See map in Skelton, *The Railway Builders*, p. 92.

²⁹Parliamentary Papers, United Kingdom, 1860, cd. 2732, p. 5. References for the paragraphs that follow will be found in C. P. Stacey, "The Military Aspect of Canada's Winning of the West, 1870-1885" (*Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1940), of which they are largely a condensation.

Red River offered the Fenians their greatest opportunity, which fortunately they had not wit enough to seize; and we know that all the hostile elements south of the border counted upon the physical difficulties of access from Canada to prevent the Dominion from closing her hand upon the North-West. The *St. Paul Daily Press* placed the matter on a high level of piety:

. . . Whenever the people of the Northwest Territory, after having successfully vindicated their liberties and maintained their independence against Canada, shall declare themselves in favor of annexation to the United States, the United States, they may rest assured, will welcome them with open arms, and England will gladly avail herself of such a providential opportunity to settle the Alabama claims with the cession of a country whose destinies God has indissolubly wedded to ours by geographical affinities which no human power can sunder, as He has divorced it from Canada by physical barriers which no human power can overcome.⁸⁰

Nothing was more important than that Canada should demonstrate her ability to move forces into the West by an all-Canadian route; and this was done in the summer of 1870. The most serious difficulty surmounted by the expedition was actually the temporary refusal of the United States authorities to allow its ships to pass through the American canal at Sault Ste. Marie, where no Canadian canal yet existed. The Dawson Route was still incomplete, and the troops had to follow the roundabout line by the Winnipeg River. But the forty-seven portages that had frightened Palliser and Simpson did not stop them. When the travel-stained soldiers gave their three cheers on Fort Garry's muddy square, the danger of the great West's being lost to Canada was almost at an end. Man, represented by Dawson, and Wolseley, and three battalions of British and Canadian riflemen, had joined together areas that had been put asunder by the God of St. Paul (Minnesota).

The whole of the Dawson Route was used in 1871 by the reinforcing expedition sent out after John O'Neill's abortive Fenian raid; it was used thereafter to relieve and maintain the military garrison of Fort Garry, and to move the first divisions of the Mounted Police into the west. It was improved with a view to making it a practicable immigrant route, which however it never became. It was virtually abandoned from 1876. In some respects it had disappointed its promoters, and an American wrote of it, "I have yet to see the person who has dared its discomforts a second time." Nevertheless, for a few years, at a very critical juncture in the history of Canada, it had been an absolutely essential part of the nation's outfit. Over it there passed into the West those elements of organized power, those few hundred armed and disciplined men, that meant security for the new territories. Without it the whole great region might well have passed from Canadian control.

However, the Dawson Route would never have been a really satisfactory answer to the problem of communication between Ontario and the West, even if its physical difficulties had been less formidable. For one thing, it was again purely a summer route. For another, it was far from fully independent of the United States. Connection with

⁸⁰Dec. 23, 1869.

it could always be severed at the Sault canal; after the final settlement of the international boundary at the Lake of the Woods, Canadian boats had to pass through U. S. waters to reach their dock at the lake's northwest angle; and in the Rainy River section the Dawson Route lay actually on the border. A really independent route could be provided only by a railway; and it would have to be a line not merely connecting Winnipeg with the head of the lakes, but one extending to the settled areas of Ontario.

It will be remembered that John A. Macdonald's government fell in 1873 as the result of certain accompaniments of its western railway policy. Alexander Mackenzie's parsimonious administration which succeeded it never produced an effective western railway policy, but adopted the idea of building rail links that would alternate with sections of water transport. When Macdonald returned to power in 1878 he attacked the problem like the nation-builder he was. In 1880 the Canadian Pacific Railway contract was signed. In 1882 rail communication was completed between Fort William and Winnipeg, and the old Dawson Route was replaced by a line of steel. Soon work was in progress on the extraordinarily difficult section north of Lake Superior; for the government, though strongly pressed to utilize, at least temporarily, a line through the United States, insisted on an all-Canadian road.

As it turned out, the connection between the railway and the Dominion's control of the Northwest was demonstrated in the spring of 1885 in a fashion nobody had expected. When the news reached Ottawa that fighting had broken out between the Mounted Police and the supporters of Louis Riel, the North Shore line was still not completed; but even so it provided the means of concentrating the field force that put down the rising. Troops from the east were at Winnipeg a week after leaving their home stations, and the back of the movement was broken in little more than six weeks. Before the affair was quite over, the first through train reached Winnipeg, bringing artillerymen from Montreal. This little civil war of 1885 was in some of its aspects a sorry episode in our history; nevertheless, it wrote a very satisfactory conclusion to two sequences of national effort: one beginning when the Province of Canada sent its explorers to find a road to Red River in 1857, the other when Wolseley's men passed over that road in 1870 to ensure the new Dominion's possession of the new West. The union of east and west was fifteen years old in 1885; but that first through train steaming into Winnipeg made it a much more real thing than it had been before.

The rest of the story need not long detain us, for it is simply the story of the C.P.R. To it much that has been said of the Intercolonial applies equally well. That it too was a national political necessity is obvious. It was as vital a part of Confederation with British Columbia as the Intercolonial was of the original Confederation between Canada and the Maritimes. And though it was not built as a direct venture by government, and though it owed a great deal to the energy and sacrifices of a group of private capitalists, it also owed so much to government assistance that it cannot be called a mere private project. Here again we see the results of the special situation created by Canada's

proximity to the United States. It was the good fortune of the United States that the country's development could be carried through, in the main, by private enterprise; but if we in Canada had waited for the impulse of private profit to carry through the great national undertakings of the Macdonald period, we should have waited a very long time. Without government initiative there would have been no C.P.R. independent of the United States; certainly, there would have been no North Shore line to carry the regiments west in 1885. Happily, relations with the republic when the C.P.R. was being built were far friendlier than in the sixties when the plan was made for the Intercolonial. This was reflected in the decision of 1881 to locate the line closer to the border than the original contract had provided. But Macdonald seems to have shown no disposition at any time to compromise on the question of an all-Canadian route.⁸¹

The triumph achieved over the tremendous barrier of the western mountains provides a splendid last act for the play. The actual final scene at Craigellachie, it is true, was deceptively workaday: Donald Smith tapping home the good iron spike, and Van Horne making his celebrated speech — fifteen words, seventeen syllables. Other countries, one feels, would have had not only a gold spike, but probably a band, and certainly a longer speech. But more words would scarcely have improved the occasion. For that day saw more than just the finishing of a railway. It witnessed the completion of the backbone of Canada. It was the realization of more than a century of imperial and national aspirations. Swift uninterrupted transport from one ocean to the other, unaffected by the seasons and wholly under Canadian control — that was the dream that had finally come true. There had been many obstacles on the road to Craigellachie, but they had all been overcome in the end. The 104th Regiment plodding through the Temiscouata snow in 1813, and Wolseley's men struggling over the portages of the Winnipeg in 1870, serve to typify the long sequence of endeavour that came to final victory in 1885.

Edmund Burke, in his most famous speech, spoke of ties which, though light as air, are strong as links of iron. The moral and sentimental bonds that Burke understood so well are the things that unite nations and empires, and in British history they have often confounded the "sophisters, economists and calculators" to whom he paid his respects in another celebrated passage. Nevertheless, in proper circumstances there is a great deal to be said for links of iron. It was faith and courage that created the Canadian nation; it was steel rails, stretching nearly 4,000 miles across a continent, that gave the nation bone and substance. Yet those rails themselves were only the product of human faith and courage, of long aspiration and patient perseverance. Sixty-eight years later, it is still good to look back to that day in Eagle Pass; for Donald Smith's sledgehammer there put the seal upon what may even today be called the greatest single achievement of Canadian nationality.

⁸¹On the C.P.R., Glazebrook, *History of Transportation*, Chap. VIII. There are various books on the picturesque aspects, including R. G. MacBeth, *The Romance of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (Toronto, 1924).

HAROLD ADAMS INNIS AS HISTORIAN

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IN 1892 and 1894 Canada produced two men who were to achieve international eminence in politico-economic scholarship, Jacob Viner and Harold Adams Innis. The elder, on receiving his bachelor's degree in the spring of 1914, with Canada in the depths of depression and no Canadian university prepared to guide his higher studies, cleared out for the United States. There he was quickly caught up in teaching and public service and did not return. The younger, who received his degree two years later, when men he knew were fighting at Ypres and on the Somme and when the first great sag in Canadian recruiting had set in, graduated, as it were, from economics to artillery. Next year Innis sealed in blood his covenant with a new Canada that was born at Vimy Ridge. In 1918 he too went to the United States for advanced studies, but returned to his abiding niche at the University of Toronto in 1920. Not until the last months of his life did he frankly acknowledge that the intensity of his nationalism had barred him from accepting advancement abroad, but now, as one looks back over his thirty years of productivity, Canadianism stands out as the central thread, probably as the motive force of his life and work. In particular, he was from the beginning perturbed by Canada's historical vulnerability and subordination to powers beyond her control.

He masked his self-dedication well, subconsciously and perhaps consciously, until his last finished utterance, "The Strategy of Culture," in which he aimed to make up for what he regarded as the timidity of the Massey Report. In his course from rather uncertain beginnings in Canadian economic history up to that final stark jeremiad for Canadian culture, he had written with an underlying studied skepticism. Employing thought-provoking generalizations, pungent phraseology, and ironical or startling concatenations, he achieved a literary style that was often as baroque and as sardonic as that of Veblen, whose rapidly-successive books had probably been the most powerful influence on him during his graduate studies.

And, since Innis was always a man in a hurry to get on from what he had digested, he was elliptical, impatient, sometimes quite obscure in defining the logical road towards his declaratory conclusions. I remember his defence of this hasty procedure on one occasion, his appeal for support to an American scholar whom he admired and believed addicted to the same practice, and his obvious amazement when the other, who wrote as profoundly as Innis but distinctly better, explained how slowly and laboriously he felt obligated to make his way into print. We must start, therefore, with the admission that, except for a few careful, even graceful, papers of his last decade, he could on occasion be ambiguous, contradictory, enigmatic, elliptical, or careless of technical canons. There are reasons for connecting

these negligent habits with his gradually-revealed mistrust of the meticulously-marshalled written word as fossilization or mechanization of knowledge and thought. For him both must be free and dynamic in time. His faith was in the *Logos*. "My bias," he said in 1948, "is with the oral tradition, particularly as reflected in Greek civilization, and with the necessity of recapturing something of its spirit."

Why, then, when any prig or purist could convict him of abundant sins, was he read and admired throughout the scholarly world? Why was he intellectually exciting? What had a Canadian nationalist to say that Europe and North America felt they had to read in spite of its difficulty and strangeness?

Some of the answers to these questions are in the realm of the imponderables. Innis had conspicuous learning, wit, and humour, for instance, but underlying all his powers and accomplishments was some genius, genius in the sense of absolute, untrammelled originality, invention, and leaping insights. To paraphrase Samuel Butler, he was capable of drawing sufficient conclusions from what appeared to be insufficient premises.

These rare gifts seemed to be almost always available in some degree. I cannot remember an occasion when we were together during thirty years that was unmarked by some fresh perception. Sometimes he could not, or would not, amplify his insights, but usually their novelty, penetration, and independence shook discussion and discourse out of caked, unprofitable forms, letting in new air and light, and stimulating discussion towards further invention.

The number and variety of good minds he could reach was astonishing. Repeatedly, to my knowledge, scholars who met him in action for the first time promptly set to work on his writings. He himself had a good deal of insight into persons, although he sometimes seemed a little puzzled by the contrast between his confident estimates of them and his inability to substantiate these. Finally, Innis repeatedly showed an uncanny sense of timing, both in administrative matters and in the knowledge of when an audience was prepared to take in some utterance that would have made no dent on their perceptions at another time. One of his colleagues, who had good cause to censure his administrative procedures, used to say that, on the other hand, Innis could often sense a crisis and deal with it before it had developed. He was shrewd and effective in academic politics.

He did not waste either these intangible endowments or his cultivated powers. Those who worked with him marvelled at his rapidity and catholicity in marshalling evidence and at his power and assurance in distilling it. They realized too, perhaps, how much energy those activities could somehow draw from a man who never completely recovered from his war-wounds. Knowing how instantly he could relax and how consistent he was in refusing to be hurried out of mischievous, free-ranging talk and laughter with his friends, they could guess at the tight concentration of his private working hours.

But who can tell us how he kept available his enormous learning? His explanation to me was that he took "very full notes" of his reading, but my ultimate impression was that, although it seems incredible, most of those notes were available in his head. At any rate his master

calculating-machine was inside his own brain-box, where a powerful mind digested knowledge into meaning and yet remembered the ways that would, when necessary, lead back to that knowledge in note-books and on scraps of paper, in printed sources, and in monographs of the utmost variety. His bulging little office, with its cascades of seldom-disturbed books and papers, and his habit of answering most letters at once in crabbed longhand on a half-sheet of note-paper were almost hilarious commentaries on the card-indexes, carbon copies, manila folders, filing cabinets, and bookshelves, whose endless management keeps the rest of us as safe from thinking and writing as stamp-collectors at their albums. Yet I cannot recall his not answering a letter or failing to come up with apt, if sometimes cryptic, scholarly help when it was needed.

II

The twenty years between the wars formed a rare brief period when the Canadian spirit of enterprise found an unprecedented amount of intellectual and æsthetic expression. In particular, life was truly exciting for students of Canada, for hardly a month passed without some fruitful, stimulating revelation. The dynamic, of course, was a newly-proud nationalism strong enough to persist through two economic booms and busts. In 1920 the *Canadian Historical Review* emerged from its 25-year old chrysalis, and shortly afterwards the Canadian Historical Association also made its metamorphosis. In 1918 and 1922 W. P. M. Kennedy gave constitutional history a brilliant, new, flying start, and about the same time Sir Robert Borden turned from politics to public lectures about the genesis of Canada's novel standing in the world. In 1923 Innis published his doctoral dissertation and first book, a history of the Canadian Pacific Railway which, while it did not satisfy either its author or its sponsor, Professor Chester W. Wright of the University of Chicago, proved to be the cornerstone of a new structure in Canadian intellectual life.

What are we to call that structure? Superficially it began as economic geography, for Innis formally subscribed himself as a professor of that art as late as 1934, and it persisted as economic history, if we are to accept the words of his unfinished presidential address for the American Economic Association last year. Yet, though he himself seemed a little diffident of assuming the title, he is probably best thought of as a practitioner in political economy. And, since that protean term has during two centuries rung all the changes from literal economy in politics to Innis's own omnibus loaded with everything from codfish to culture, it must be affirmed that, within political economy, his deepest, most unfailing, and most passionate loyalty was to history — the past brought to bear upon the present. The burden of his thought during the last ten years of his life was profound, even utter, disillusionment with the mere Cult of the Present. Again and again he pleaded with his peers to cut *along* the grain of human experience not *across* it. Adaptable tradition became to him one strong safeguard against nihilism.

Apparently he began his enquiries a generation ago with concern over the role of new, externally-exploited countries in the world economy, that huge complex of capital, production, and distribution and the political and social behavior that goes with it. Naturally he started on his own country, its staples, and their distribution, ever regardful of its unique environmental characteristics, its peculiarities in techniques and transportation, and its intricate relationships of subordination to greater outside economic, political, and cultural powers. Who before him, for instance, had even speculated, much less learned, about the powerful patterns of force that were composed from the distinct qualities of bank or shore, ship or boat, green or dry, fisheries, on the one hand, and of mercantilism, bullion and salt supply, and world markets, on the other. I recall a time when we were both working at the Nova Scotian archives and, during our walks to and fro, he exposed to me, largely in terms of technology, unthought-of dynamics in the life of the Maritime Region. This was Veblen transplanted, an utterly new phase in Canadian scholarship.

He spoke with authority because from the beginning he studied economic, political, and social behavior *in situ* as well as in the records. (In the instance mentioned he had just then shifted from the Ragged Islands fishery to the ancient files of the *Acadian Recorder*). During the teaching year he was most often to be found behind barricades of books and hitherto-unused government documents in the Faculty Reading Room at the University of Toronto Library. During vacations he attacked other repositories of source materials at home and abroad, when not travelling the length and breadth of Canada — travelling, too, light and at his own expense, uncushioned by research grants. There is, in fact, at the philanthropic foundations in New York, a large fund of incredulous stories about Innis's belief in hundreds rather than thousands of dollars for the assistance of a few true and productive scholars.

When he himself was on the track of knowledge, he could sleep in his clothes on the deck of a ship, in a day-coach, or at a railway station, and eat whatever he could get. Yet he never paraded his austerity or condemned greater indulgence in others if they were assiduous in scholarship. In his early days at Toronto, he was regarded as something of an academic maverick, but some of his perceptive colleagues believed in him and defended him until his reputation was made by a single book. The book was *The Fur Trade in Canada* (New Haven, 1930). Its declaratory sub-title was *An introduction to Canadian economic history*.

It is doubtful that any other Canadian monograph, except perhaps F.-X. Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*, has had an equal impact on Canadian intellectual life. After it, I suspect, few scholars wrote about Canada without wondering what Innis would think of their work. I know that I never did. The book's sweep was so thorough that it substituted an economic, geographical theme for the previous political, personal thesis of Canadian development. As western Canadians know and have come to protest, it substantiated the Laurentian hypothesis of Canada's evolution that the geographer Marion I.

Newbiggin had glimpsed at about the same time and had sketched in *Canada: the Great River, the Lands and the Men* (London, 1927).⁶

Innis's thematic achievement was grand and unprecedented, and it was accompanied by such a far-ranging array of often minute evidence that it compelled surrender to his arguments even where they were irregularly buttressed. His formal documentation could only be described as whimsical and his scholarly apparatus as casual, but every page of his text conducted the reader deep into the problems and opportunities of the men in the field, Indian and European, or of their managers nearer the economic capitals, or of the politicians whose services they tried to evoke. In effect he wove geography, economic history, changing technology, political adaptation, and far more theory than is evident, into such a vivid, variegated, and tough fabric of explanatory exposition that its rough spots and irregularities could be ignored. One felt that he had collected, carded, and spun the fibres and that then the artist in him had responded by composing the coherent design that their nature commanded. He was always both the inductive and the deductive thinker.

Innis regarded himself as a constant user and modifier of economic theory, but not as an economic determinist. In the first matter, he felt that the economic theories worked out in older countries than Canada were not strictly applicable, and his inductive work in Canadian and other economic history was designed to demonstrate the adaptations that must be made before deductive reliance on theory was permissible. His aim was to accord a central position to economic theory or, to put it another way, to achieve an economic theory for Canada that could confer some of the perspective that he felt Canadians conspicuously lacked. Transcending Canada, as he proposed to say in his presidential address to the American Economics Association, "economic history is primarily concerned with extending the universal applicability of economic theory and of strengthening a central core of interest."

In the second matter, that of economic determinism, his conspicuous humanism is the substantial refutation. No one was more fascinated than he by the compulsive tradition and imponderables in man; his spirituality, religious and æsthetic; his will; and his odd anti-economic motivations. Even when a good deal of this was eclipsed by his final obsessive despair over our Cult of the Present, he would admit the importance of human "cussedness" and intractibility, inadequate as he felt they were without constructive leadership from the intellectual élite. During most of his life he felt that he, and other economic historians, must be on their guard against economic determinism and out-moded or politically-adulterated Marxian simplifications. Yet he did not close his mind. In 1940, writing about one part of *The Cod Fisheries*, he said: "I can't avoid the commercial interpretation," and last August, writing about another man's book, he said: "It is rather Marxian in its approach as you would expect, but not the less penetrating and interesting."

III

If one had to guess when Innis acquired the self-assurance that enabled him to be the most productive and imaginative of Canadian scholars, the date would be 1928 or 1929. Two of his books had been published. *The Fur Trade* had been accepted for publication by Yale, and he had made his standing at the University of Toronto. Most importantly of all, ten years of unremitting study of his country and the materials for its history made him feel that he knew what he was talking and writing about, even, probably that he could now trust his insights as starting-points towards understanding. His powers of work at this time were astounding.

Equipped in this fashion, and believing that the citizen should put his capacities at the service of society, late in 1929 Innis was confronted by the tragic impact upon Canada of an unprecedentedly severe economic depression. That depression seems to have made him acknowledge his concern with *political* economy. What he accomplished during the next ten years passes understanding, particularly the understanding of those who remember the crippling and prolonged effects of the depression on vulnerable Canada. Let me do little more than list the chief activities that he undertook, sometimes alone and always as a principal agent.

In 1928 he persuaded the University of Toronto Press to publish *Contributions to Canadian Economics*, whose articles and bibliographical notes formed a foundation for the revival in 1929 of the Canadian Political Science Association and for the initiation in 1934 of the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. Ever mindful of students' needs and impecuniousness, in 1929 he culled from his vast findings, and published, a remarkable collection of *Select Documents in Canadian History, 1497-1783*, to which in 1933 he and A. R. M. Lower added a sequel covering 1783-1885 before the design crumpled under the weight of materials available for subsequent years. In 1933 he helped to organize and edit for the Canadian Institute of International Affairs a series of studies entitled *The Canadian Economy and its Problems* (Toronto, 1934), and it was characteristic of him that at the last moment, when it was pointed out that no study existed of the effects on Canada of the Panama Canal, he wrote one himself fast enough to have it added as an appendix.

Meanwhile he had agreed to help Dr. J. T. Shotwell of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in planning and editing the large series entitled *The Relations of Canada and the United States*, a task that he performed perhaps all the more generously because of his then latent fears of the United States. He certainly strained out some of the eirenical piety that cropped up naturally during the decade of that project and, meeting generous understanding in Shotwell, used the series as a vehicle for several almost purely Canadian studies in economic history.

Stricken Nova Scotia also secured his services in 1933 as a member of its Royal Commission of Economic Inquiry. Its report (1934) sounded a novel note when Innis unobtrusively refrained from signing what amounted to little more than a lament for vanished free trade and

substituted, in characteristically compressed and staccato form, a pioneering economic history of the distressed Province.

All the while he had been writing and speaking about various neglected aspects of the Canadian economy and had persuaded the Ryerson Press to publish *Problems of Staple Production in Canada* (1933), the first of what were to be characteristic collections of his shorter utterances, roughly grouped and published under some thematic title then dominant in his mind. I used to think that he used this device against the day when he would write an economic history of Canada, but have concluded that he believed more in setting men thinking than in instructing them. He also took part in the great test research project designed by Isaiah Bowman and others for the Social Research Council, in the form of the nine-volume *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series*, by writing his highly original *Settlement and the Mining Frontier* (1936). Still another enterprise was his long, valiant, and partially successful campaign to reform and revitalize the Royal Society of Canada. Finally, he was sought out by Anne Bezanson, Shepard Clough, Arthur Cole, Edwin Gay, E. A. J. Johnson and others who activated the Committee for Research in Economic History, miraculously created the Economic History Association, and in 1940 produced its notable journal as a make-weight for the impotence of Europe at war.

The culmination of this period was *The Cod Fisheries*, substantially finished about 1938, and painstakingly revised for publication in 1940. This was the most ambitious enterprise in economic history and political economy that Innis ever undertook, for it presented a novel and perhaps unique problem in exposition. To realize this, one has only to consider that, whereas the normal study is centripetal and has a natural unity around a core, *The Cod Fisheries*, as its subtitle, *The history of an international economy*, indicates, was centrifugal and amounted to the study of very complicated activities in the North Atlantic Maritime Region and of their equally complicated radiating relationships with the rest of North America, the West Indies, South America, Western Europe, and the Mediterranean. It cannot be claimed that Innis found any magical artistic formula to solve his problem in some great unifying emulsion, but the degree of his success, by sometimes fairly brutal expository means, was far beyond ordinary expectation.

For historians of Canada, then, the ten or twelve years after 1927 were a period of incomparable enrichment from a single scholar. One should add to the publications already indicated the long, closely-argued introductions and contributory essays that he wrote for books by others, perhaps most notably for four of the volumes in the Shotwell series: J. A. Ruddick *et al.*, *The Dairy Industry in Canada* (1937); N. J. Ware and H. A. Logan, *Labor in Canadian-American Relations* (1937); G. P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada* (1938); and A. R. M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest* (1938); also his edition of *The Diary of Andrew James McPhail* (1940).

One wonders whether Canada could now provide the devoted and talented scholar and writer who would temporarily suspend his own curiosities in order to compose the economic history of Canada that

Innis could have written but did not. It would not be an easy job, for it would involve the testing and digestion, not only of masses of material, but of endless provocative interjections. Its acknowledged dependence on another man's mind would be open to misinterpretation. To be done properly it would have to ramify out to other parts of the world, for in economic history Innis was the conscious internationalist and contributed much to the break-down of Canadian parochialism. Yet the work could be done and, if well done, would be a great contribution to understanding. In loyalty to Innis, its *sine qua non* should be explicit denial of any authoritative finality.

IV

The War of 1939 marked the last turning-point in Innis's life of the mind. It heightened in him, if you like, the intense love of country that was born during the war of 1914. That war had scarred him. He thoroughly hated war's dehumanizing power. No doubt it is true in a superficial sense that he had decided about this time to redeem the unexpected failure of another scholar to fill a gap in the annals of Canadian staple production by writing the history of pulp and paper and of the hydro-electric power that accompanied their rise. This, for him, conventional pursuit led him into novel enquiry and thinking about cheap paper, cheap publications, broadcasting, television, and their politico-economic uses — that is, ultimately to considering the interlocked revolutions in communications and political economy across all recorded time. It is also true that Innis was during some of these years conspicuously associated in G. A. Borghese's project for the formulation of a world government, but I have detected no evidence of its direct effect on his thinking.

Yet, if one follows his course from the essays, some dating back to 1933, that were published late in 1946 as *Political Economy in the Modern State*, down through *Empire and Communications* (Oxford, 1950) and *The Bias of Communication* (Toronto, 1951) to the collection, *Changing Concepts of Time* (Toronto, 1952), that he revised during his last illness, it is apparent that the War of 1939 shook him into a profound and almost entirely new phase. It was a period of furious activity for him. Even during the post-war inundation of his university and the reorganization of its graduate school, of which he accepted the deanship, he felt obligated to serve on, and write extensively for, two exhausting Royal Commissions. He taught at Toronto and lectured in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain about his thoroughly original ideas as to the relations between communications and political and economic power, from ancient times to the present. He told me that his venturesome Beit Lectures at Oxford, published as *Empire and Communications* (1950), had to be delivered, for want of time, from little more than half-digested notes.

A great compulsion was upon him and, perhaps, a mortal urgency. Again and again, he seemed to be on the brink of a fundamental examination of philosophy, of man and his universes, but apparently the time seemed too short. Charles N. Cochrane, another Canadian scholar who, like Innis, was perhaps more searchingly

considered abroad than at home, was a help and an inspiration, but he died prematurely just after the great effort of his lectures at Yale. For Innis himself there was too much to be done and too little time to do it. In particular, Canada must be quickly roused to understand the nature and necessity of scholarship, especially in the humanities and the social studies, for science already rode high in popular esteem. "Pure scholarship," Innis reported to the National Conference of Canadian Universities on Post-War Problems in 1944, "is a growth hormone of civilization as well as a measure of its quality." The new Canadian Social Science Research Council and the Humanities Research Council of Canada owed much to his influence and support. He was appalled by the threats to scholarship that were embodied in voting mass-men, in collectivism, in statism, and in modern communication monopolies playing on the surfaces of minds that had been adroitly robbed of all their roots in time.

It is to be hoped that some person with a receptive, imaginative, and generous philosophical mind will soon attempt an exegesis of Innis' thought from the Panic of 1940 to his death; for his utterances, while strange and sometimes even contradictory to us, merit systematic analysis, especially because of their independence and originality. Many serious students have been provoked and puzzled by them. In the interim it is perhaps legitimate to offer a very tentative structure of hypotheses concerning them as something to think about, not in order to estimate the man, for time will do that, but as a temporary and adaptable support during some subsequent exploration of the ideas in his last books.

Perhaps the underlying circumstance was that the War of 1939 brought to a focus a number of the forces that had emerged during the past two centuries with such intensity as to create a transvaluation of values. For instance, Innis was a liberal, a man for whom the freedom of the individual was probably the ultimate value. Yet in what company could such a man now find a congenial resting-place? Must he be a conservative or a radical? In terms of his judgments at such a time, he seemed most like a literal anarchist. Yet in terms of his actions, he lived out his belief that the state, the political expression of society, might depend on the services of its learned men, as, for instance, on Royal Commissions. This was, in a sense, typical of the contradictions in which he found himself involved.

Was he a democrat, even in the sense that although democracy might be an objectionable form of government, no one has invented anything more tolerable? Almost certainly democracy meant to him, as it must to citizens of large states, not government by the people, but the power of the people to choose their governors and to get rid of them when desirable. That brought him up against the capacity of the people for good sense, and it was here that his faith failed him. Apparently it failed him because Rousseau had not convinced him that man is naturally good and because his study of communications and the theory of monopoly had convinced him that popular press and periodicals, radio, moving pictures, and television had robbed most men of the traditional standards for judgment. "Intellectual man of the nineteenth century," he wrote during his last days, "was the first

to estimate absolute nullity in time. The present — real, insistent, complex, and treated as an independent system, the foreshortening of practical prevision in the field of human action, has penetrated the most vulnerable areas of public policy. War has become the result, and a cause, of the limitations placed on the forethinker."

Moreover war had fulfilled Tocqueville's prophecy of the Earth divided between the Russian and the American spheres, impelling both to subordinate everything, especially well-being and freedom, to the concentration and control of power. Spengler, Aldous Huxley, and Orwell seemed justified in their diagnoses of man's suicidal course towards mere conditioned reflexes at the command of tyrants as remote and unintelligible as the authorities in Kafka's novels.

The immediate, if not necessarily the modal menace to tolerable existence for Canadians was of course the United States, not so much through force as through infection. The antibiotic must be found in the Western European tradition because Canada showed little evidence of inherent powers of immunity. Let me substantiate this by three quotations from the last pages of Innis's last essay.

Whatever hope of continued autonomy Canada may have in the future must depend on her success in withstanding American influence and in assisting the development of a third bloc designed to withstand the pressure of the United States and Russia.

The future of the West depends on the cultural tenacity of Europe and the extent to which it will refuse to accept dictation from a foreign policy developed in relation to the demands of individuals in North America (not merely in the United States) concerned with re-election.

In the words of Professor Robert Peers, Canada must call in the Old World to redress the balance of the New, and hope that Great Britain will escape American imperialism as successfully as she herself escaped British imperialism.

He concluded another paper by quoting Aldous Huxley's book-title, "Time must have a stop."

Probably every reader of what Innis wrote after 1939 will disagree, not only in detail but in substance, with parts of what he finds, for that is what Innis intended. He wanted to make men think and, above all, argue about what was happening to them. After travelling all over Canada and living for some time in French Canada, he deliberately abandoned any hope for liberty in Canada based upon its social and cultural variety. Although he knew that the United States possessed powerful traditions of libertarian and of anti-materialistic sorts that had persisted through almost two centuries of unprecedented political stresses and strains, he chose to ignore them in order to emphasize the authoritarian, the materialistic, and the immediate elements. He gradually narrowed his theses into such harsh and arbitrary forms that only the utterly inert could fail to be provoked by them. As Donald Innis told the American Economic Association last December, his father had discussed with him at length a proposed, but necessarily unwritten substitute for the presidential address that he had begun.

Its studied, insistent thesis was to be that the tradition of America (the United States and Canada) was to refuse to have a tradition and particularly to resist interest in the European tradition.

There we must leave him. Yet, however one views this original, fruitful, and complex mind, one is confronted by the historian, even when he chose to be polemical. For him the recent course of world development, in commercialism, imperialism, and in monopolies of communication, was hurtling towards contests between monopolies of power that had found the formula for total control in wiping men's minds clean of all save alluring, exciting impressions of each succeeding moment. The Cult of the Present, as the means to mere insensate, self-bounded power for its monopolists or oligarchs, nullified the dignity of man, of all men, even of the tyrannical possessors of power. Against it there could be only one counterpoise, the eclectic Cult of the Past, of History. Man could work for his redemption only by recalling from the past its beautiful and good inspirations and by nourishing, renewing, and modulating those strains through the present into the future.

LES ECOLES FRANCO-ONTARIENNES D'AVANT 1800

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Tout le monde s'émerveille à bon droit de la ferveur des Loyalistes à faire ouvrir des écoles dès leur arrivée en Ontario. Le lieutenant-gouverneur Simcoe veut obtenir des fonds pour assurer une instruction convenable aux fils des dirigeants; ses subordonnés veulent faire jouir tous les enfants du même privilège.

C'est justement ce qu'avaient fait les Français bien longtemps avant eux. L'histoire de l'éducation en Ontario n'y faisant aucune allusion, la présente étude a pour but de révéler l'effort des Français en vue d'instruire les enfants sur ce territoire.

— I —

La Nouvelle-France n'a jamais joui d'un régime d'éducation comparable aux systèmes contemporains. Sa législation scolaire se résume à fort peu et traite presque exclusivement du choix des maîtres et des aptitudes pédagogiques requises. L'organisation des écoles suivait le cours naturel des choses: il s'en fondait "là où il y avait des groupes de colons établis"¹ et, comme c'est normal, on commençait par les écoles primaires. Il fallait un permis d'enseignement pour faire la classe et, pour l'obtenir, on devait fournir à l'évêque, qui seul pouvait en accorder, "quelques garanties de savoir-faire."²

Comme résultat, les petites écoles donnèrent un rendement convenable et il se développa, dans la colonie, un système d'écoles primaires très satisfaisant puisque, au début du XVIII^e siècle, un relevé des matières étudiées par les élèves dans les diverses maisons d'enseignement permettait d'estimer que "70% de la population avait fréquenté l'école,"³ et que, vers 1750, "sur cent Canadiens, il n'y en a pas vingt qui soient illettrés."⁴

Le mérite n'en revient certes pas aux autorités métropolitaines dont l'indifférence complète envers l'instruction du peuple est bien dans l'esprit du temps. Mais il est à la gloire des gouverneurs et des intendants de la Nouvelle-France d'avoir cherché, par tous les moyens possibles, à secouer l'apathie de la cour. Bien que les dirigeants coloniaux aient multiplié les instances auprès du pouvoir souverain afin de "faire établir des règlements concernant les écoles,"⁵ c'est aux évêques et aux intendants qu'est due la réglementation de l'enseignement.

¹G. Filteau, *La Naissance d'une Nation*, (Montréal, 1937) II, 23.

²*Ibid.*, 31.

³*Ibid.*, 29.

⁴*Ibid.*, 45. Rares sont les pays, l'Angleterre et la France comprises, qui, à la même époque, peuvent offrir un tableau plus encourageant de l'éducation populaire.

Heureuse fut donc la jeune colonie de pouvoir compter sur les soins maternels de l'Eglise, qui a toujours veillé sur l'instruction et la bonne éducation des enfants. Les évêques ont toujours soutenu de leurs deniers autant que de leurs conseils tout ce qui servait à faire rayonner l'instruction, à tel point que, dans l'acte d'érection d'une école, le notaire se croit tenu de signaler "leur zèle très particulier à rechercher les moyens les plus efficaces pour que les enfants de cette colonie, aussi bien que les autres personnes qui lui sont soumises, soient suffisamment instruits et que personne ne puisse, chacun selon son âge, tomber dans aucune ignorance, faute d'instruction nécessaire."⁶ Le clergé suit à la lettre les directives des évêques et nombre de curés convertissent en école une partie de leur presbytère où ils enseignent aux enfants. Les communautés religieuses d'hommes et de femmes rivalisent d'ardeur avec le clergé, et, fait digne de mention, tout cet enseignement se dispense gratuitement.

De son côté le peuple manifesta très tôt un vif désir d'assurer à l'enfance une instruction convenable. En tout temps, il seconda admirablement les efforts de l'Eglise et jamais il ne craignit, même dans les campagnes, de se taxer "volontairement malgré sa pauvreté pour construire des écoles et les soutenir."⁷ Dans une lettre à Richelieu, le père LeJeune affirme que les familles se multiplient au Canada et pressent les Jésuites d'ouvrir des classes. *La Relation* de 1636 est encore plus explicite: "Quelques personnes, très honnêtes gens, disent que jamais elles n'auraient passé l'océan pour venir en Nouvelle-France, si elles n'eussent eu connaissance qu'il y avait des personnes capables . . . d'instruire leurs enfants en la vertu et la connaissance des lettres."⁸ Au dire de Vaudreuil et de Bégon, les maîtres d'école des campagnes reçoivent de la population l'entretien et la subsistance.⁹ Il appert donc que "les premiers colons du Canada connaissaient le prix et la valeur de l'instruction" et que "la plupart étaient des gens instruits pour l'époque."¹⁰

— II —

Dans les Pays-d'en-Haut, comme on appelait autrefois les vastes régions de traite du Saint-Laurent supérieur et des Grands Lacs, la même situation prévaudra dès que s'y fonderont des établissements stables. Même avant la venue de colons français ou canadiens, on avait enjoint aux missionnaires de polir les moeurs des indigènes et de les franciser. Le caractère volage des Sauvages se prêtait mal à ce genre d'instruction. Aussi les Jésuites furent-ils accusés de l'avoir négligé et s'attirèrent-ils des remontrances de la part de Talon et surtout de Frontenac. C'est ce qui explique la fondation d'une mission de Sulpiciens à la Baie de Quinté, en 1669, et l'attribution aux Récollets de

⁶*Ibid.*, 18.

⁷A. Gosselin, *L'Instruction au Canada sous le Régime français*, (Quebec 1911) 458.

⁸Filteau, *op. cit.*, 21.

⁹Citation trouvée dans Filteau, *op. cit.*, 20.

¹⁰Filteau, 21, 41.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 20, 45.

la cure du Fort Cataracoui, en 1674.¹¹ Pas plus que les Jésuites, Sulpiciens et Récollets ne purent faire de merveilles dans l'éducation des naturels, mais leurs efforts témoignent de l'intérêt constant des autorités coloniales dans la diffusion générale de l'instruction. La correspondance du gouverneur et de l'intendant nous apprend que les missionnaires ont ainsi joint l'enseignement profane à l'enseignement religieux dans les confins actuels de l'Ontario, avant même qu'il fût question d'y établir des colons.¹² L'arrivée de ces derniers encouragera évidemment les missionnaires dans leur tâche, car, sur les bancs de l'école, aux petits des Peaux-Rouges, viendront s'ajouter des enfants de race blanche. Et ce sera très prochainement.

En effet, dès juillet 1673, à la suite d'un mémorable coup de théâtre, Frontenac obtenait des Iroquois la signature d'un traité de paix garantissant aux Français parfaite liberté de navigation sur le Saint-Laurent et les Grands Lacs ainsi que leur assentiment à l'érection d'un poste de traite qu'il convertira aussitôt en fort militaire à Cataracoui. Comme preuve de sa bonne foi, il promettait aux chefs des Cinq Cantons d'établir des familles de colons à cet endroit et confiait au Sieur Cavelier de La Salle la gouverne du fort et de ses dépendances. Ce dernier héritait, du même coup, de lourdes responsabilités financières, qu'il assumait de bon gré en échange d'un titre de noblesse et d'une seigneurie comprenant "le Fort Frontenac, avec quatre lieues de pays adjacent" et quelques îles des environs.

La Salle n'allait pas désappointer son protecteur. Rentré au pays, après un bref séjour en France, il file vers son nouveau domaine, "transforme le fortin en un ouvrage considérable,"¹³ construit des magasins qu'il remplit de marchandises, "bâtit une chapelle et une école"¹⁴ puis fait venir des colons auxquels il concède des terres et assure la subsistance pendant deux ans. Ce qui nous intéresse le plus dans tout cela, c'est "qu'une école s'ouvrit en ce lieu pour les enfants des Français et des sauvages."¹⁵ C'est la première dont les vieux documents mentionnent l'érection et, ce qui importe davantage, l'ouverture, dans les présentes limites de l'Ontario.

Cette école vit le jour en 1676 et eut pour premiers maîtres les Pères Récollets, de qui Frontenac, dans une lettre du 14 novembre 1674, dit au roi: "Ils s'efforcent de le faire (instruire les Sauvages à la Foi et les rendre sociables) dans la maison de Cataracoui, où ils feront assurément des progrès."¹⁶ Ce que ces religieux avaient réussi pour les indigènes, ils le firent sans doute avec encore plus d'ardeur pour les petits Canadiens qui, en 1677, composaient le septième de la cinquantaine de français établis au Fort Frontenac. Le malheur, c'est qu'ils ne purent se dépenser à cette tâche aussi longtemps qu'ils l'auraient voulu:

¹¹Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans, le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 1614-1698 (Paris, 1876) 1, 80; B. Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, (Montréal, 1882-4) V, 40.

¹²Margry, 247-251, Sulte, 40.

¹³L. Le Jeune, *Dictionnaire général d'Histoire du Canada*, (Université d'Ottawa, 1931) II, 84.

¹⁴C. Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe siècle*, (Paris, 1896) III, 66; Le Jeune, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁵Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français*, V, 43.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 40.

à peine dix ans plus tard, l'activité remuante de La Salle "et sa passion pour les aventures vinrent l'éloigner de son fort"¹⁷, menaçant de désintégration tout ce que ce même fort avait pour fonction de soutenir ou de protéger. Cependant, la brève existence de la petite colonie du lac Ontario avait révélé deux faits d'importance: la possibilité de fondations durables le long des Grands Lacs de même que la nécessité, dans tout projet de colonisation, d'inclure une clause assurant l'instruction aux enfants des colons.

— III —

On en tint compte dans un deuxième essai de colonisation, plus à l'ouest encore. Il s'agit de la fondation de Détroit, qui remonte à 1701. C'est le 24 juillet de cette année-là que Lamothe-Cadillac arrivait au Détroit pour y ériger le Fort Pontchartrain, y "fonder une colonie agricole, y appeler le trafic des Grands Lacs et le retenir dans la main de ses compatriotes."¹⁸ Longtemps mûri dans son esprit, Cadillac défendit brillamment son projet contre toutes sortes d'opposition et il le mena à bonne fin.

Chose certaine, c'est qu'il ne procéda point à l'aveuglette: il sut recruter les hommes qu'il lui fallait: missionnaires, officiers, cultivateurs, artisans et commerçants. Une centaine d'hommes bien aguerris aux tâches les plus diverses l'accompagnaient à son arrivée; plusieurs étaient mariés et certains avaient des enfants qui, avec leurs mères, vinrent bientôt les rejoindre. Parmi les problèmes inhérents à tout nouvel établissement, surgissait donc, dès le début, celui d'instruire les enfants. Le fondateur de Détroit l'avait prévu et, loin de chercher à l'écarter, il proposa des moyens concrets pour le résoudre: confier l'enseignement des garçons aux missionnaires, faire venir des religieuses pour instruire les filles et, pour cimenter l'amitié entre Français et Peaux-Rouges, réunir dans une même école les enfants des Sauvages et ceux des Français.

Ces propositions, Lamothe-Cadillac les avait exposées clairement en réponse à certaines objections qu'avait soulevées son projet.¹⁹ Il les reprendra, en 1703, dans une lettre à son supérieur et protecteur, le comte Pontchartrain, auquel il recommandera d'autoriser l'ouverture d'une école au Détroit pour l'instruction commune des petits Français et des petits Sauvages.²⁰ Que ce ne fût là qu'une idée passagère dans le cerveau de Cadillac, toute sa correspondance le réprouve. En 1705, il tenta d'ailleurs un effort suprême en vue d'implanter au Détroit des religieuses devant soigner les malades et faire la classe aux enfants. Son échec à cette occasion retarda de cinquante ans l'ouverture d'écoles paroissiales dans la ville de Détroit. Entre-temps, l'éducation de l'enfance fut laissée entièrement à l'initiative privée²¹

Vers le milieu du XVIII^e siècle l'évêque de Québec se fait l'avocat des parents auprès des autorités métropolitaines pour qu'on décide

¹⁷Le Jeune, *op. cit.*, 84.

¹⁸Sulte, *op. cit.*, 148.

¹⁹Margry, *op. cit.*, V, 138 à 172, *passim*.

²⁰Sister Mary Rosalita, *Education in Detroit Prior to 1850*, (Michigan Historical Commission, Lansing, 1928) 17.

²¹*Ibid.*, 18.

d'établir des religieuses dans cette région lointaine. Aussi fin diplomate que pasteur avisé, Mgr de Pontbriand choisit le moment propice pour intervenir en faveur de ses ouailles. En novembre 1746, il écrit au comte de Maurepas: "On propose un établissement au Détroit pour les Soeurs de la Congrégation; il serait utile à l'instruction de la jeunesse et pourrait engager les habitants à s'y établir, mais outre que le temps n'est pas favorable (car on était en guerre), je n'ai rien voulu arrêter sans savoir si vous l'approuveriez."²² Sa lettre n'ayant pas produit l'effet désiré, il revient à la charge en 1747 et en 1748 mais sans plus de succès. Désappointé mais non découragé, il fait vibrer une corde plus sensible l'année suivante. Dans une lettre à M. Rouillé, nouveau ministre des colonies, il écrit: "Plusieurs habitants du Détroit me sollicitent de leur donner trois Soeurs de la Congrégation pour l'instruction de leurs filles en offrant de leur fournir tout ce qui leur sera nécessaire. Ainsi, elles ne seraient point à charge à Sa Majesté . . . je ne pouvais refuser à ces peuples de vous faire connaître leurs désirs."²³ Encore une fois, c'est peine perdue; mais un appel à la générosité de l'oncle du roi, le Duc d'Orléans, lui fait obtenir la même année, pour les Dames de la Congrégation, une pension annuelle de mille livres, dont cent devront être affectées à l'ouverture d'une maison au Détroit, si ce vœu se concrétise.²⁴

Malheureusement cette ouverture n'eut pas lieu, et c'est le père Bonaventure Liénart, curé de la paroisse Sainte-Anne du Détroit depuis près de trente ans, qui nous l'apprend dans une longue requête adressée, en 1755, au gouverneur Duquesne de Menneville. Il rappelle le vif désir des gens du Détroit de voir des religieuses s'établir chez eux, précise "qu'il leur en coûte beaucoup pour donner de l'éducation à leurs filles en les envoyant à Montréal ou à Québec" et insiste sur le fait que "ces difficultés dégoûtent plusieurs personnes de venir s'établir dans ces quartiers, et sont capables d'engager ceux qui y sont déjà établis à abandonner leurs terres, persuadés que le plus grand bien qu'ils peuvent laisser à leurs enfants, est une bonne éducation."²⁵ Ce Récollect sut frapper à bonne porte, car sa demande fut dûment approuvée par M. Duquesne, dont le malencontreux remplacement par M. de Vaudreuil voua la requête à l'oubli. Plus de vingt ans s'écouleront avant qu'on ne cherche encore à faire venir des soeurs enseignantes dans ces parages.

Cet empressement des gens du Détroit à se cotiser pour assurer que leurs filles puissent jouir "d'une bonne éducation" permet de déduire qu'il existait des moyens de procurer à tous les enfants une instruction pour le moins rudimentaire. En 1760, Jean-Baptiste Rocoux enseigne déjà dans la paroisse Sainte-Anne du Détroit à titre de "directeur des écoles chrétiennes et premier chantre de cette paroisse."²⁶ C'est donc qu'il y avait des écoles paroissiales avant cette date, car on ne nomme pas un directeur des écoles avant la fondation de celles-ci.

²²Soeur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal*, (Montréal, 1941) IV, 236.

²³*Ibid.*, 237.

²⁴Sister Mary Rosalita, *op. cit.*, 19.

²⁵*Histoire de la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal* IV, 238.

²⁶Archives Publiques du Canada, *Registre Pontchartrain du Détroit* (1755-1783).

Quoi qu'il en soit, ce même titre, le Père Bocquet, curé de la paroisse, l'inscrit à côté du nom de Rocoux dans son acte de mariage, le 15 mai 1765; il le change en "maître des écoles chrétiennes de cette ville" lors du baptême d'un de ses fils, le 4 novembre 1772, puis en "maître d'école de cette paroisse" en 1774 et finalement en "maître de l'école chrétienne en cette paroisse" en 1780.²⁷

Il est assez curieux qu'aucun historien n'ait encore relevé ce fait, qui est pourtant très significatif. Non seulement indique-t-il un grand souci d'exactitude chez le Père Bocquet, mais il révèle qu'il s'est produit des changements importants au Détroit, dans le domaine scolaire de 1760 à 1780. Jusqu'en 1772, Jean-Baptiste Rocoux est directeur ou maître "des écoles chrétiennes": ce qui laisse entendre qu'il y en avait plus d'une; en 1780 il n'est maître que "de l'école chrétienne": ce qui fait supposer qu'il y avait d'autres écoles, mais qu'une seule tombait sous la juridiction de l'autorité paroissiale. Il ne faut pas oublier que tout cela se passe sous le régime anglais, dont rien n'a été dit, afin de ne pas nuire à la continuité du récit. De toute façon, l'on constate que la population du Détroit n'attendait pas l'arrivée de religieuses pour fonder des écoles populaires.

D'après Soeur Mary Rosalita, l'école paroissiale Saint-Anne aurait fonctionné dès 1755, cinq ans avant que Jean-Baptiste Rocoux en prit la direction. Ce n'est certes pas improbable vu que, depuis déjà plusieurs années, les paroissiens réclamaient l'ouverture d'une école convenable. Mais quelque bien intentionnée qu'elle soit à faire cette déclaration, Soeur Mary Rosalita se trompe quand elle appuie sa prétention sur les dires de Farmer,²⁸ qui fixe au 15 mai 1755 la date du mariage du sieur Rocoux que le père Bocquet enregistre "ce jourd'hui quinze may de l'an de Notre-Seigneur mil sept cent soixante-cinq."²⁹ Ce qui n'est pas impossible, c'est que le Père Bocquet lui-même ait ouvert une école avant l'engagement de Rocoux car "il avait poussé la complaisance envers quelques habitants du Détroit jusqu'à leur apprendre la langue française."³⁰

Combien nombreuses ont dû être les péripéties d'une si longue vie; combien pittoresques, les incidents! Et pourtant, un silence complet les entoure, aucun document n'en fait mention. N'eût été le long ministère de Jean-Baptiste Rocoux à la direction de l'école, nous ignorerions à peu près tout de son existence. Les seules choses que nous en sachions nous sont dévoilées en des textes se rapportant à ce maître presque légendaire. Ainsi nous savons qu'en 1765 les marguilliers ont pu acheter une maison, à condition "qu'elle servît à loger un chantre, une école et pour toute fin d'instruction chrétienne aussi longtemps que le dit chantre, Rocoux, pût remplir ses doubles devoirs"³¹

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸S. Farmer, *History of Detroit and Michigan*, (Detroit, 1884) 719-720; S. Mary Rosalita, *op. cit.*, 24.

²⁹Archives Publiques du Canada, *Registre Pontchartrain du Détroit* (1755-1783).

³⁰A. H. Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada jusqu'à la Conquête*, (Québec, 1916-17) III, 334.

³¹Archives Episcopales de Québec, E. U., V. 86, cité par Sister Mary Rosalita, 21, 22.

de chantré et de maître d'école. Et c'est cette stipulation du contrat de vente qui nous permet d'apprendre, en 1791, que le dit Rocoux enseigne à l'école paroissiale depuis 1760 et que, durant les trente et un ans qu'il y a passés, "il s'est toujours acquitté de ses deux charges avec toute l'équité dont un bon sujet est capable", ce pourquoi le conseil de fabrique supplie l'évêque de le maintenir dans ses fonctions malgré certaines protestations.³²

L'acte de mariage de Rocoux nous le présente comme le fils de sieur Claude Rocoux, bourgeois de Paris, et nous apprend qu'il épousa Marie Josette Deshetres, fille de sieur Antoine Deshetres, maître armurier du Détroit. Les registres de la paroisse nous indiquent qu'il eut plusieurs enfants et qu'il servit maintes fois de témoin à l'occasion des fréquents baptêmes, mariages ou sépultures qui avaient lieu en l'église Sainte-Anne. L'intervention des marguilliers pour le maintenir à son poste, après trente et un ans de services continus dans la paroisse, prouve qu'il jouissait d'une grande considération et que son enseignement était fort apprécié. D'autre part, le cumul de ses charges souligne bien que se reproduisait intégralement au Détroit ce qui se faisait alors pour l'instruction dans les campagnes du Québec: l'enseignement s'y donnait gratuitement dans les écoles paroissiales et le maître remplissait généralement les fonctions de sacristain, pour lesquelles le rituel accordait "de un quart à un tiers du revenu du cure",³³ ce qui assurait à l'instituteur une rémunération suffisant à sa subsistance.

À la même époque, après 1770 surtout, d'autres maîtres déployaient aussi leur art dans les environs. Plusieurs étaient à l'emploi de familles à l'aise qui pouvaient se payer le luxe de précepteurs: il arrivait même qu'on envoyât les esclaves à leurs cours. Ainsi, en 1794, François Houdon recevait de John Askin la somme de 15£ 10s comme traitement annuel "pour son enseignement aux enfants et aux esclaves."³⁴ De même, les Chapotons avaient-ils leur maître à eux, un nommé Drouin, en 1775³⁵. Cependant certains instituteurs ouvraient une école dans leur propre logis: il s'agissait alors d'écoles privées et payantes, où les élèves devaient apporter "non seulement le bois de chauffage mais aussi des chandelles pour les jours sombres."³⁶ Tous ces maîtres, qu'ils aient fait la classe sous leur toit ou en quelque autre demeure hospitalière, ne nous sont connus que de nom. Et le plus souvent, leur nom nous est parvenu dans les livres de comptes des marchands ou des notables de l'endroit. C'est là que Burton, Russell et Soeur Rosalita ont glané ceux qu'ils nous citent et qu'il serait superflu de répéter ici. Qu'il suffise de rappeler qu'ils furent assez nombreux, de langue française et de langue anglaise, que leurs honoraires variaient considérablement et que leur compétence pédagogique se mesurait à leur culture générale.

³²*Ibid.*, 21, 22.

³³Filteau, *op. cit.*, 28.

³⁴*John Askin Papers, Account Book*, (Detroit Library Commission, Detroit, 1928) Sept. 30, 1794.

³⁵*Sterling Account Book*, 1775 cité par S. Mary Rosalita, *op. cit.*, 26.

³⁶N. V. Russell, *The British Regime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-96*, (Northfield, Minn. 1939) 137.

— IV —

Reste à parler de la Pointe de Montréal, aujourd'hui Sandwich, sise en face de Détroit sur la rive ontarienne. C'était le seul coin de la province qui comptât, à la Conquête, une population stable. Il est vrai que Kingston avait encore quelques colons; que d'autres s'étaient fixés près des forts ou des postes de traite. Mais seule la Pointe de Montréal constituait un établissement de quelque importance.

Jusqu'en 1796, date à laquelle Détroit fut définitivement cédée aux Etats-Unis, la Pointe de Montréal et la métropole du Michigan ne formaient qu'une seule communauté politique et sociale.³⁷ De plus, avant 1767, lors de l'érection canonique de la paroisse de l'Assomption à Sandwich, les catholiques des deux rives faisaient partie de la même communauté religieuse: la paroisse Sainte-Anne de Détroit. C'est dire que des liens très étroits unissaient les citoyens des deux localités et que tous jouissaient des mêmes avantages scolaires.

La Pointe de Montréal attire l'attention pour la première fois en 1727, lorsqu'on demande à Louis XV d'y autoriser l'établissement d'une mission huronne. L'année suivante, le père de la Richardie, jésuite, s'y installe à demeure pour desservir les besoins spirituels des Sauvages. En 1742, le père Pierre Potier vient prêter main-forte à son confrère, au moment où la population de Détroit commence à essaimer du côté sud de la rivière. Petit à petit, les colons d'origine française se rendent, pour les offices divins, à la petite chapelle du lieu, plutôt que de traverser la rivière et d'assister à la messe dans la paroisse Sainte-Anne, dont ils ne seront détachés qu'en 1760. Cette année-là, une cinquantaine de familles, comprenant environ trois cents personnes, occupent déjà des terres le long de la rive sud, "où sont aujourd'hui situées Amherstburg, Sandwich, Windsor et Walkerville."³⁸

Le changement d'allégeance n'a pas modifié de façon appréciable la vie des colons. L'arrivée de soldats et de marchands anglais entraîne bien quelques inconvénients, mais il n'en résulte aucun froissement d'importance. Au contraire, les nouveaux venus se laissent assimiler d'assez bonne grâce en épousant des Canadiennes.³⁹ L'atmosphère française règne partout et sera prédominante pendant plus de cinquante ans. Aussi, quand survient l'Insurrection américaine, les Canadiens de la rive sud demeurent-ils apathiques ou se rangent-ils sans hésiter du côté de l'Angleterre. A eux se joindront bon nombre de leurs frères de Détroit qui, "lorsqu'ils furent appelés à le faire, en 1795, . . . déclarèrent vouloir rester sujets anglais . . . D'autres transportèrent leur domicile sur la rive canadienne pour rester sous la domination anglaise."⁴⁰

Les pionniers de Sandwich provenaient de trois sources différentes: quelques-uns appartenaient aux anciennes familles de Détroit, d'autres

³⁷Frederick Neal, *The Township of Sandwich, Past and Present*, (Windsor 1909), 8.

³⁸E. C. Guillet and Jessie E. McEwen, *Finding New Homes in Canada*, (Toronto, 1938) 115.

³⁹Gen. F. Palmer, cité dans *Essex Historical Society, Papers and Addresses*, (1915) 11, 95.

⁴⁰T. Saint-Pierre, *Les Canadiens du Michigan et du Comté d'Essex, Ontario*, (Montréal, 1895) 184.

avaient émigré des vieilles paroisses le long du Saint-Laurent, et un dernier groupe se composait de soldats licenciés dont les gouverneurs établissaient, chaque année, un certain nombre sur des terres. Au témoignage unanime des écrivains du temps et des historiens contemporains, c'étaient de très bonnes gens, fort sociables et pourvus d'un profond sens religieux. Nombreux sont pourtant les détracteurs qui ont cherché à rabaisser leur mémoire, en les traitant de soupçonneux, d'arriérés, d'ignorants et de lamentablement inaptes aux affaires. Heureusement, des travaux fort documentés d'historiens consciencieux, tels que Rameau et Saint-Pierre, ont fait justice de cette légende et rétabli les faits. Selon Rameau: "les documents, la tradition, les souvenirs écrits et parlés ne tiennent point le même langage."⁴¹

De même source que les gens de Détroit, formés à même école, et étroitement liés à eux pour toutes fins pratiques, jusqu'à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, les Canadiens de Sandwich avaient le même développement culturel et le même désir de faire instruire leurs enfants. C'est pourquoi nous pouvons leur appliquer sans crainte ces remarques de J. V. Campbell sur l'instruction à Détroit en 1796:

"Un examen de nos archives publiques nous fait voir qu'une très grande partie des habitants, tant de langue française que de langue anglaise, avaient au moins une instruction ordinaire. Leurs signatures et leurs écrits attestent qu'ils savaient manier la plume, et leurs livres de comptes sont propres et bien tenus. Dans l'orthographe des mots français, on retrouve bien les symptômes d'un enseignement qui s'adresse à l'oreille plutôt qu'à l'oeil; mais, sous le régime français, nombre de gens cultivés font fi de l'orthographe. Les fautes relevées par-ci par-là, dans les écrits des gens du Détroit ne sont en rien plus graves que celles qui abondent dans les documents publics . . . Et, il y a cinquante ans, sinon de nos jours (1876), on ne considérerait pas une orthographe fautive, même en anglais, comme une preuve d'ignorance . . . Nous savons, de plus, que les premiers immigrants ainsi que les fils natifs du Détroit ne toléraient pas que leurs enfants manquassent d'instruction; et tous les renseignements que nous possédons tendent à confirmer ces vues."⁴²

Toutefois, le désir de faire instruire les enfants ne suffit pas: il faut des maîtres et des écoles. S'en est-il trouvé à la Pointe de Montréal? Question fort pertinente, à laquelle il n'est pas possible de répondre à la légère. De 1750 à 1780, rien d'absolument certain sous ce rapport. Néanmoins, une tradition fort tenace veut que, dès 1760, le père Potier, curé de la paroisse l'Assomption, ait ajouté l'enseignement à son ministère pastoral. Et tout porte à croire que la tradition est bien fondée: c'est dans les coutumes du temps et c'est un vœu maintes fois exprimé par les évêques, que les curés se chargent de l'instruction des enfants s'il n'est pas d'autres moyens de la leur procurer. L'ancien chef du secrétariat de l'Association canadienne-française d'Éducation d'Ontario, le R. P. Arthur Joyal, O.M.I. ne craint d'ailleurs pas d'affirmer: "À l'instar du Père Potier, décédé en 1781, les abbés J.-F. Hubert, M. Fréchette, F.-X. Dufaux, sulpiciens, eurent tellement à coeur de les (les Canadiens) garder à leur foi religieuse et nationale que, faute d'in-

⁴¹E. Rameau de Saint-Père, *Notes historiques sur la colonie canadienne de Détroit*, (Montreal 1861), 39.

⁴²James V. Campbell, *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan*, (Detroit, 1876) 254-255.

stituteurs, ils poussèrent le dévouement jusqu'à enseigner eux-mêmes à leurs enfants non seulement le catéchisme, mais encore les éléments de la lecture et de la grammaire française.⁴³

Ce qui ne fait pas de doute, c'est que les occasions de s'instruire à Sandwich même, pendant ces quelque vingt ans, n'étaient pas excellentes. L'abbé Hubert s'en rendit compte dès son arrivée à la paroisse de l'Assomption, en 1782. Aussi tenta-t-il immédiatement d'obtenir des Dames de la Congrégation de Montréal pour enseigner aux filles et un instituteur pour faire la classe aux garçons. Grâce au gouverneur Haldimand, il se procura un collaborateur qui pouvait enseigner,⁴⁴ mais les religieuses durent refuser son invitation pressante. L'éloignement des lieux et un concours de circonstances défavorables le forcèrent à différer le projet, mais la correspondance échangée entre lui, l'évêque et la communauté, nous prouve que les paroissiens ont magnifiquement secondé ses efforts, s'engageant même à de lourds sacrifices pécuniaires pour en assurer la réalisation.⁴⁵ Que le futur évêque de Québec ait réussi à faire ouvrir les deux classes désirées, rien n'autorise à l'avancer. Sa soudaine élévation à l'épiscopat, en 1786, l'éloigna trop vite des lieux pour qu'il eût le temps de voir tous ses desseins prendre une forme concrète. Mais ses démarches en faveur des écoles ne furent pas vaines: sous la régie de son successeur, M. Dufaux, deux dames se consacraient à l'enseignement dans la paroisse. Malheureusement leur école n'obtint pas les succès espérés, par suite de la pauvreté excessive des gens, qui avaient peine à vêtir leurs enfants et qui, malgré leurs sacrifices, pouvaient difficilement faire vivre deux institutrices.⁴⁶

Enfin, il n'est pas inutile de mentionner qu'en 1782 les Sauvages de la région avaient fait don d'un lopin de terre à l'abbé Hubert et aux Dames de la Congrégation, en vue d'inciter ces dernières à venir s'installer à Sandwich. Ce terrain devait revenir de droit au curé de l'Assomption, si les religieuses ne pouvaient consentir à se déplacer, ce qui se produisit de fait.⁴⁷ Ce noble geste des Sauvages illustre bien l'attachement qu'ils nourrissaient à l'égard de leur curé et l'intérêt qu'ils portaient aux causes qui lui étaient chères. Aurait-on pu laisser dans l'ombre un fait aussi émouvant dans le description que nous venons de faire des efforts des gens de Sandwich en vue d'éduquer leurs enfants?

Voilà les réalisations françaises antérieures au XIX^e siècle dans le domaine de l'instruction, hors des limites actuelles du Québec et particulièrement en Ontario.

⁴³R.P.A. Joyal, *Geste Sauveur*, (ouvrage non publié), 65.

⁴⁴British Museum, ref. ADD. 21727, Lettre de Haldimand à l'abbé Hubert, 26 août 1782.

⁴⁵*Histoire de la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal*, V, 345-350.

⁴⁶George M. MacDonald, "Forgotten Facts about Assumption Parish", (*The Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report* 1951) 43. Le nom de ces dames s'est perdu, leur mémoire non pas. Leur compétence est attestée tout comme leur dévouement.

⁴⁷Archives du Canada, *Registers of Notary* (1776-1784), II, 281-285.

DISCUSSION

M. RICHARD relève plusieurs mentions d'écoles françaises privées, telle que celles de Détroit, de Windsor etc. Il demande si, en même temps que ces écoles particulières, il y eut des écoles publiques organisées. LE PERE POULIOT répond qu'il ne semble pas y avoir eu d'écoles publiques organisées comme à Cataracoui par exemple. M. LAMONTAGNE se reportant au texte anglais résumant la communication souligne la phrase. "Ten years later, the school disappeared as well as the small colony" et demande si elle s'applique bien à Cataracoui. LE PERE POULIOT réplique que la colonie de Cataracoui n'a jamais disparu complètement. Vers 1750 la garnison comprenait 1500 hommes et les officiers y faisaient transporter leurs familles au frais de l'Etat, ce qui semble au moins indiquer l'existence d'une organisation scolaire. Sous le régime anglais les écoles françaises ont été assez nombreuses.

THE INDIAN DIPLOMACY OF JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

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In the many-levelled and shifting relationships between Great Britain and the United States in the years preceding the first of those adjustments of differences periodically necessary to the intercourse of these powers, the activities of an obscure lieutenant governor of a province whose prospects were yet before it might well be termed insignificant. This was so in the event, but not in the potentiality, for Governor Simcoe attempted, largely upon his own initiative, to affect directly the course of Anglo-American relations from the interior of North America. By introducing the politics of the wilderness as a factor in transatlantic diplomacy, he hoped to achieve ends partly those of his government, but more particularly his own.

John Graves Simcoe was the possessor of a Tory mind of more than usual rigidity. He came by it honestly, being from an English country family with a tradition of service to the Crown, and having himself entered the army after the briefest of exposures to Oxford. Removing him, as it did, from political controversy, the king's commission emphasized the lessons of his upbringing, and experience of social upheaval during the American Revolutionary War hardened them into conviction. He had a deep and genuine, if sentimentalized veneration for the monarchy, and for parliament as its appendage; he believed implicitly in the time-sanctioned position of the established church and viewed dissent with suspicion; he regarded a graded society, in which each member acted in the manner proper to his condition, as part of the natural order of things. Above all, he had a simple faith in the English social and political structure as an answer to the problems of man in society anywhere, and diagnosed the American Revolution as the inevitable outcome of the failure to impose an English pattern in North America. Simcoe's appointment as Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada in 1791 offered an opportunity for the testing of his Tory creed as the central theme of the Second Empire; and he enthusiastically threw himself into the job of establishing a little England in the untouched Canadian hinterland.

Not only did Simcoe see himself as the instrument for "preserving all the trans-atlantic Dominions of Great Britain",¹ but he entertained an even more exalted purpose. The Americans, he felt, had made a grave mistake in 1776, and were now suffering the consequences of social inversion and the congressional system. The "absolute prohibition of an order of Nobility" was sufficient assurance of eventual American collapse and of the existence of a strong American desire for a return to the old ways. So Simcoe set himself the task of con-

¹E. A. Cruikshank, *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe* (5 vols., Toronto, 1923-1931), I, 50, Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Aug. 12, 1791. (Referred to henceforth as *Simcoe Papers*.)

structing a model government in Canada; a beacon to draw the erring peoples of America back to their old allegiance through a demonstration of its inherent superiority. (Among other things, he proposed to raise "the Tone of Principles and Manners" by the publication of excerpts from the encyclopaedia in the newspapers.)² Irredentism was almost the rule in the higher British officialdom of the period, but when coupled with Simcoe's strong convictions and the serious lack of perception which perhaps arose from them, it led him to conclusions which at best were quixotic and at worst dangerous. He proclaimed his ideas incessantly and with force:

It is in the hope of being instrumental to the *Reunion of the Empire*, by sowing the Seeds of a vigorous Colony that I prefer the station I am appointed to & its fair prospects to any Post in his Majesty's Dominions . . . I am persuaded that it is the Interest of Northern America & G. Britain to be united in some mode or other & that such an Union is neither distant nor impracticable.³

In addition to these brave projects, Simcoe had caught, perhaps from some anonymous Montreal merchant, the dream of Canadian commercial empire; of the goods of the continental heartland flowing out of North America by way of Upper Canada and the St. Lawrence. Upper Canada, he thought, could well become "the secure medium, as Holland is to Germany, of the most profitable Intercourse with all the Inhabitants between the Appalachians and the Mississippi".⁴ If strong British naval forces could be placed upon the Great Lakes, then perhaps Upper Canada might dominate the interior politically as well as commercially, and wavering states like Kentucky be enticed into renewed loyalty.⁵

To lay the foundations for a new empire, to build an ideal colony to a height capable of arousing American admiration, and to render it wealthy, powerful, and enterprising enough to attract the products and conceivably the attachment of trans-Appalachian America — all this required time; and this practical necessity anchored Simcoe's flights of wishful fancy. It would be hardly correct to assert that he sought to involve the United States and Great Britain in war. One can believe him when he breaks out: "I have no personal views, no personal fears, but those of Peace, Peace, Peace . . . be assured if we are forced into war while I govern Upper Canada, it shall not be the wisest sort, preventive war, but absolutely and entirely defensive."⁶ His dislike for the American system in general (and "Washington and such like cattle" in particular)⁷ did not alter his conviction that war would be death to his Canadian plans; on the contrary, he was afraid that the retention of the western posts by the British might drive the Americans to seize them by force, and engulf the rest of British America in the process. Even if war did not materialize, the proximity

²*Ibid*, 18, same to Sir Joseph Banks, President of Royal Society, Jan. 8, 1791.

³*Ibid*, 53, same to Dundas, Aug. 26, 1791.

⁴*Ibid*, 28, Simcoe to Dundas, June 30, 1791.

⁵*Ibid*, II, 91, same to same, Oct. 19, 1793.

⁶*Ibid*, I, 166, same to Sir George Yonge, June 17, 1792.

⁷*Ibid*, 166.

of the United States might warp his infant colony through the contagion of the "Levelling principle."

For Simcoe, as formerly for Haldimand, the Indians posed an even more immediate menace than the Americans "as the formidable Enemy in our present Juncture of Affairs."⁸ The Indians, although they had had objectives of their own, had been faithful allies during the Revolution, and indeed had won a measure of success not given to British arms. Indian anger over the omission of their territorial claims from the Treaty of Paris was the determining motive in Haldimand's decision to hold the posts and avert possible retaliation for British betrayal.⁹ The fact that the Indians of the Ohio basin had never ceased hostilities against the United States did not, in Simcoe's estimation dissolve their threat. If the Americans eventually defeated them the Indians might turn on the British in revenge for failure to provide active assistance; if the war ended in a peaceful settlement reached without the good offices of the British, the Indians might respond to American incitement and attack defenceless Upper Canada, since "there is no such thing as a neutrality in their Ideas; they must have war somewhere."¹⁰ There seemed only one path out of these many pitfalls: Simcoe concluded that by supporting the Indians in their claims to the lands between the Ohio and the Great Lakes he could maintain their friendship and at the same time provide Upper Canada, during its period of incubation, with a garrisoned territorial shield.

The conception of an Indian buffer state was not new, nor was Simcoe unique in favouring it at this time. Belief that revision of the 1783 treaty was possible had permeated the British administration, not excepting William Pitt himself.¹¹ In 1792 both Simcoe and George Hammond, minister to the United States, received official instructions to attempt to bring about, through British mediation of the American-Indian quarrel, some advantageous adjustment of the boundary.¹² What sets Simcoe off from his colleagues is that, driven by ambition for himself and for his colony, he pursued a revisionist policy long after it had ceased to be considered seriously at home and proceeded to lengths certainly not contemplated by his instructions.

Several factors gave Simcoe wider latitude for independent action than would usually have been the case. As always, official instructions from England were long delayed, and were of a very general nature. In addition, correspondence with Hammond in Philadelphia was difficult and sporadic, and since the British minister had no authority over Simcoe, their communication consisted chiefly of an exchange of information, opinions, and suggestions. Simcoe's relations with the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief at Quebec were mainly of a military character, and were impeded by the personal antagonism

⁸*Ibid.*, 53, Simcoe to Dundas, Aug. 26, 1791.

⁹Public Archives of Canada, Series Q, XXIII, 46-47, Haldimand to Lord North, Nov. 27, 1783.

¹⁰*Simcoe Papers*, I, 51-52, Simcoe to Dundas, Aug. 26, 1791.

¹¹For an example of Pitt's views, see W. R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Canadian Relations, 1784-1860* (3 vols., Washington, 1940), I, 375-378, Gouverneur Morris to George Washington, May 29, 1790.

¹²*Simcoe Papers*, I, 151, Dundas to Simcoe, May 5, 1792.

between himself and Lord Dorchester. Most important, the Indian Department, through which he had to work to manipulate the border tribes, occupied an anomalous position in the British administrative hierarchy (as Simcoe put it, "an Imperium in Imperio") and although he had technically no civil or military jurisdiction over it, he was able, in the absence of the Superintendent, Sir John Johnson, to exercise a good deal of unofficial control over the regional agents, the deputy superintendents.

At Montreal in June 1792, before setting out for his province, Simcoe met Alexander McKee, the Deputy Superintendent for the Detroit area, and very quickly reached an understanding with him. Putting their heads together, they worked out, as the basis for future Indian policy, a hypothetical boundary revision of the 1783 treaty which would, through the creation of an Indian buffer state, completely seal off British America from the United States.¹³ This meeting marked the beginning of a close cooperation between the Lieutenant Governor and McKee, which was maintained by private correspondence.

Almost at once came an opportunity to seize the initiative on the frontier. After two disastrous defeats in 1790 and 1791, the United States government, while holding in readiness another army under General Anthony Wayne, extended a blanket invitation to all the frontier tribes to meet American representatives during the summer of 1793. In September 1792 the Indian confederacy assembled at the Glaize, a branch of the Maumee River, to decide the terms upon which peace talks should take place. George Hammond suggested to Simcoe that perhaps British mediation might ensue if the Indians "of their own spontaneous reflections" were to request it.¹⁵ Simcoe ordered McKee to engineer this, and also to obtain from the Indians an unsolicited request for British documents which supported their contentions in the land dispute. He cautioned McKee, however, to observe the appearance of neutrality in the Indian deliberations, and especially not to promise British military assistance in the event of further hostilities with the United States.¹⁶ The influential McKee (whose presence at such a meeting was quite customary) succeeded in evoking from the confederacy a sufficiently spontaneous petition for the presence of Governor Simcoe as mediator at the coming treaty, coupled with a curt demand for the production of British documents pertaining to Indian claims.¹⁷

But for Simcoe this was the only satisfactory result of the conference, for the Indians laid down as the prior condition for *any* negotiation American acceptance of the Fort Stanwix boundary of 1768; that is, roughly the line of the Ohio River. This stipulation flew in the face of the vast westward movement of population which

¹³*Ibid*, I, 173-4, Memorandum by J. G. Simcoe and Alexander McKee, June 21, 1792.

¹⁴In 1786 Joseph Brant had constructed an Indian confederacy of all the tribes domiciled in the area from the St. Lawrence lowlands to the Ohio-Mississippi triangle.

¹⁵*Simcoe Papers*, I, 176-77, Hammond to Simcoe, July 11, 1792.

¹⁶*Ibid*, 207-09, Simcoe to McKee (private), Aug. 30, 1792; *ibid*, V, 23, same to same, Sept. 24, 1792.

¹⁷*Ibid*, I, 219-28, Indian Council at the Glaize, Sept. 30 - Oct. 9, 1792.

had followed the Revolution, and in which permanent settlements had been established at many points north of the Ohio. It also rejected several treaties which had confirmed these lands to the United States, on the ground that they were fraudulently conducted with individual tribes, and not with the confederacy as a whole. Moreover, the adoption of this extreme position had split the Indian nations into two factions. The Six Nations, their power weakened by centuries of warfare, had finally exhausted themselves in the Revolution. Dislodged from their homeland in northern New York, a part, under the headship of Joseph Brant, had settled in Upper Canada as British pensionaries; while another group clung to tribal lands within the United States. The inclinations of both groups were for peace, and thus, although they joined the great Indian confederacy which Brant had formed in 1786, they did not take part in the war in the Ohio basin. At the Glaize council their representatives called for a moderate line, which would recognize white penetration across the Ohio, as the best means of securing peace. The western nations,¹⁸ led chiefly by the Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot and Miami, hotly rejected this proposal. They accused the Six Nations of being in collusion with the Americans and "sitting quiet while they destroyed us". Their decisive victories over Generals St. Clair and Harmar had rendered the Ohio nations intransigent and over-confident; since their own tribal lands were at stake, they were able to shout down the protests of the Six Nations and insist on the Ohio line as a prerequisite for peace.¹⁹

This turn of events left Simcoe in some uncertainty, which was subsequently increased when the American cabinet quite understandably refused to consider the Indian request for British mediation as tendered informally by Hammond.²⁰ It had always been clear to Simcoe that Indian unity was essential if boundary concessions were somehow to be squeezed from the United States. But no gesture of compromise could be expected from the Ohio nations. They must be conciliated, however, since they were prepared to fight the Americans and were quite capable of turning on the British, if thwarted. The Six Nations, on the other hand, were neither as dangerous nor as stubborn as the western Indians. For these reasons Simcoe decided to support the claims of the extreme Indian faction; a precarious gamble that was made attractive by the promise of a wider belt of protective territory than he had originally counted on. But once committed to the support of the Indian irreconcilables, he was tied to their fortunes as well, and from this point on Simcoe's range of effective action was narrowed to efforts to promote Indian unity and to disguise his own

¹⁸Without stressing too much the difference between the western tribes and the Six Nations, it should be remarked that their answer to the problem of American expansion was not the relatively sophisticated one of trying to live with the white settlers but the primitively direct one of trying to live without them. Hence their energetic leadership in Indian efforts to expunge or push back the whites: the defeat of Braddock on the Monongahela; the Pontiac uprising; Lord Dunmore's War; the harryings of the western frontier during the Revolution; the continuance of border war after the Revolution formally was ended. In all these events the Ohio tribes provided the hard core of Indian resistance.

¹⁹*Simcoe Papers*, I, 228, Indian Council at the Glaize.

²⁰*Ibid*, 267-68, Hammond to Simcoe, Nov. 27, 1792.

personal entanglement in Indian policies. It is from the failure to stress this shift of emphasis in Simcoe's policy that the obscurity which surrounds his relations with Joseph Brant has arisen.

During the months intervening between the Glaize council and the peace congress, Simcoe did his best to strengthen the chances for an outcome favourable to the British. In mid-winter he made the arduous trip to Detroit to discuss privately with Alexander McKee the new policy line. He refused an offer from the United States to provision the treaty meetings, since he felt this would lessen British influence upon the Indians.²¹ He carefully examined Indian Department documents relating to the Ohio boundary and convinced himself (he had no choice) that the Indian claims were valid. He weighed the value of an appeal to the sense of justice residing in the American people.²² But Brant, who through his prestige could sway a large section of Indian opinion, would not yield to Simcoe's persuasions that the Ohio stipulation was to the best advantage of the Indians. Simcoe complained of him: "He is a cunning and self-interested Savage [who] chooses not to understand the difference between a fair Peace, and one upon any terms."²³

Brant was certainly ambitious, but this was the spur to his actions, not the cause. His intelligence has often been overestimated, but he grasped what few of his contemporaries did: that the Revolution had proven that further Indian military resistance to white encroachment was futile and self-destructive. Perceiving that the British could not be expected to act in the Indian interest, since they had their own concerns, he became the architect of the great Indian confederacy, seeing it as means to guarantee the survival of his race through direct arrangements with the United States.²⁴ In 1793, he felt, the opportunity had arrived "to obtain a good Peace, and if lost, may not be easily regained."²⁵ Brant's moderation appeared to Simcoe to be the most dangerous obstacle to Indian unity and the fulfilment of his hopes, and thus, although he later admitted that Brant was genuinely pursuing Indian interests, he sought to publicly envelope his actions in suspicion.

In May 1793, the three American commissioners to the Indians arrived at Navy Hall and began an uncomfortable and impatient vigil until the Indians should summon them to their council, which was already in progress at the Maumee rapids. During this nervous interval, Simcoe became aware, through his conversations with the commissioners and from news of the warlike preparations of General Wayne, that there was little prospect of agreement being reached on the Indian terms. The commissioners had instructions only to compensate the Indians for occupied lands north of the Ohio, and evidently could not accept the great white withdrawal which the Indian conten-

²¹*Ibid*, 277-78, Simcoe to Hammond, Jan. 21, 1793.

²²*Ibid*, 202-04, Simcoe to Maj. Gen. Alured Clarke, Aug. 20, 1792; *ibid*, II, 303-40, Simcoe to Dundas, July 5, 1794.

²³*Ibid*, V, 29, Simcoe to Hammond, Jan. 23, 1793.

²⁴P.A.C., Series B, CXIX, 229, Brant's Transactions with the Indians at Sandusky, Aug. 26 - Sept. 8, 1783.

²⁵*Simcoe Papers*, V, 37, Brant to McKee, March 23, 1793.

tion implied. Now, if ever, was the time for Simcoe to reduce his aims; but he was too uncertain of the effects of any readjustment upon the temper of the western tribes to recede at this point (and, one feels, too temperamentally inflexible as well). Instead, he resolved to play the game to the hilt, and in a private letter to McKee he ordered that the deputy superintendent use his authority with the Indians to gain the line "[we] delineated at Montreal". He held out to McKee the great prospects which a revised boundary would open to British America, but at the same time forecast the improbability of a negotiated settlement, and since he gave no instructions for a moderation of the Indian terms, seemingly put his faith in a third Indian victory.²⁶ Provocative opinions to impart to the man on the spot, particularly since McKee was to interpret to the Indians the substance of all those records of land treaties upon which their case rested.

Not until the first week in July was the long Indian silence broken. Then a delegation of fifty Indians, with Brant as spokesman, came to Niagara charged to ask the U.S. commissioners whether they had power to conclude a boundary based upon the line of the Ohio. Rather than ask the Americans this fatal question, Brant merely enquired whether they were authorized to negotiate a boundary, to which the puzzled commissioners gave an affirmative answer. There was nothing equivocal about Brant's conduct here, as Simcoe suggested;²⁷ he saw himself as peacemaker, and hoped that by not revealing the Ohio contention time might be gained at the Indian council for the working out of some acceptable compromise. His praiseworthy deception was uncovered immediately upon his return to the council, and a second delegation was sent to the commissioners, now at the Detroit River. The Americans were taken aback by the Indian demand to know whether they were empowered to "fix on the Ohio River as the Boundary Line between your people and ours", but firmly replied that this was out of the question. They offered instead money compensations and legal recognition of the Indian right of soil to land still tribally occupied.²⁸

At the council, in the midst of the unprecedented turbulence which erupted on reception of the American terms, Brant made an impressive appeal for concessions on the Indian side "for the Interest of us all and far preferable to an uncertain war". For a full account of the events that followed, Brant's journal is the only source. According to Brant, the Shawnee and Delaware chiefs, spearheads of the war faction, informed him that they had decided to drop the Ohio contention and accept his proposal for a more moderate boundary; that the next morning, after a midnight meeting with McKee, these tribes reversed their stand, announced their "final resolutions" to hold out for the Ohio line. This decision he attributed to the advice of McKee. The consequent ultimatum, which Brant, the Six Nations, and a large number of other tribes refused to sign, was presented to the Americans, who

²⁶*Ibid*, 50-51, Simcoe to McKee (private and confidential), June 23, 1793.

²⁷*Ibid*, I, 383, Simcoe to Clarke, July 10, 1793.

²⁸*Ibid*, 405-09, Western Indians to Commissioners of the United States, July 25, 1793, 401-02; Commissioners of the United States to Deputies of the Confederate Indian Nations, July 31, 1793.

thereupon declared the negotiations at an end. Preparations for a renewal of frontier war began on both sides.²⁹

The precise accuracy of Brant's account is not important. From what has been shown of the positions of Brant and McKee, the former's description is undoubtedly a rough approximation of what actually took place. The obscurity which has surrounded the incident (and by extension the semi-diplomatic activities of Simcoe)³⁰ is due in large part to a quite deliberate muddying of the waters of history by Simcoe and McKee in order to hide their share of blame for the collapse of peace proceedings. (It is significant, for example, that the 1793 council is the only one of the entire period for which no official record survives.) During the summer, Brant had made separate appeals to McKee and Simcoe to persuade the western Indians to adopt a more moderate boundary (the Muskingum line); McKee ignored him, while Simcoe advised him icily to cease tactics which were dividing the confederacy.³¹ Yet after the final debacle in August Simcoe, in official letters to Hammond and Dundas, accused Brant of ruining chances for peace by holding out for the Ohio boundary against attempts at compromise by McKee — an assertion that McKee never made and Brant's career repudiates. He attacked Brant's character as "problematical", his conduct as "unsatisfactory", and accused him at the same time of being in the pay of the Americans and of trying to involve the British Empire in war with the United States.³² It is clear that Simcoe's concern was not with the truth but to rescue his public reputation from the blemish of having far exceeded his instructions and of giving the United States cause for protest, if not stronger action.

The results of Simcoe's amateurish diplomacy followed in 1794. The confederacy was irrevocably divided, despite desperate attempts by Brant to heal the breach. The Ohio Indians were left alone to fight the army of Anthony Wayne, and in August, at Fallen Timbers, were totally scattered. The Indian barrier to settlement between the Ohio and the lakes was permanently broken.

Simcoe's abortive policy betrays a lack of judgment at almost every turn. His hopes for Upper Canada were precocious, to say the least; his analysis of the present condition and future tendencies of the United States was warped by prejudices; his belief that the American government would admit British mediation on the frontier was contradicted by every utterance of its members on the question; and his ultimate reliance upon Indian victory, in the light of past wars, demonstrates how fully his hopes had become his judgments. In any event, North American affairs were decided not on the frontier, but as

²⁹*Ibid.*, V, 5-17, Brant's Journal of the Proceedings at the General Council, May 17 - Aug. 12, 1793.

³⁰See, for example, A. L. Burt, *Anglo-American Relations, 1775-1820*, (New Haven, 1940), 128 ff.

³¹*Simcoe Papers*, I, 403, Brant to Simcoe, July 28, 1793; V, 67, Brant to McKee, Aug. 4, 1793; II, 4-5, Simcoe to Brant, Aug. 8, 1793.

³²*Ibid.*, II, 49, Simcoe to Hammond, Sept. 8, 1793; 100, to Dundas, Nov. 10, 1793; 101-4, to Dorchester, Nov. 10, 1793. Fragmentary verification of Brant's version is found in *ibid.*, III, 313, Col. John Butler to Joseph Chew, Mar. 1, 1795; II, 30-31, Journal of a Treaty Held in 1793 with the Indians . . . by Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.

heretofore in Europe. The outbreak of the war with France in 1793 made it essential for Britain to reach an understanding with the United States; accordingly there followed Jay's Treaty, the confirmation of the Revolution settlement and the end of revisionism.

Simcoe was not able to make that mental leap which a movement in space from England to North America required. An instinctive conformer in a society which proclaimed balance and proportion as its virtues, accustomed in his professional life to ordered and roughly predictable conduct enforced by discipline, he was at sea in an environment in which emotions were as wild and excessive as the landscape, and which transformed British truisms into American absurdities. Thus the ultimate paradox imbedded in his policy: he tried to shape the new world into a reassuring image of the old by employing as tools the savage tribes of primitive America.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL BASIS OF THE REGIONS OF SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO

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Southwestern Ontario will be considered as the wedge-shaped area bounded on the west and south by Lakes Huron and Erie and on the east by Lake Ontario and the Niagara escarpment, excluding the city of Hamilton. The region as a whole is isolated from the rest of Canada and the U. S. by topographic barriers, but these physical features are probably not as important to the people as the economic barriers which go with them. The international boundary through the lakes with its tariffs and trade preferences limits free flow in those directions. The strip of land along the crest of the escarpment, where moving ice scraped the rock bare of soil, cuts off Southwestern Ontario from the rest of the province. So the region has tended to become a unit in the thinking of its inhabitants. That is, the people think of themselves as belonging to this region; their viewpoint is inward, though there is some local regional specialisation.

The area is one of the most densely populated of Canada. Within this 15,779 square miles live 1,446,531 people or 10 per cent of the total population.¹ This is an average density of 92.9 per square mile compared with an average of only 4.04 per square mile for Canada as a whole and 12.65 for the province of Ontario.

The physical build of the area presents an interesting contrast between the very old and the very new. The underlying solid rock was laid down in the seas of the Paleozoic Era of geological history, when life forms were confined to vegetation and primitive sea animals. Traces of these remain for us in their fossils. The rocks which enclose them are chiefly limestones, dolomites and shales. After these rocks solidified they were uplifted above the sea and exposed to the erosive effects of wind and water for about 250,000,000 years. During this time the horizontal layers of rock became slightly tilted from east to west and the more resistant Lockport dolomite became the crest of an escarpment stretching from Queenston to the east coast of the Bruce peninsula.² Then, only about a million years ago, the climate became colder and a thick covering of ice spread over the whole region. This ice in some places scraped the rocks over which it passed, in some it gouged our great basins now filled by lakes, in others plastered ground-up rocks and boulders upon the solid layer beneath. Probably four times this ice melted and three times it came back again. Each time it added to the amount of debris so that a mantle of clays, gravels, sands and

¹Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census Division, *Ninth Census of Canada*, 1951 (Ottawa, 1952), Bulletin 1-13, 13-17.

²J. F. Caley, *Paleozoic Geology of the Toronto-Hamilton area*, Ontario Geological Survey of Canada, Memoir 224, (Ottawa, 1940), 8-9.

tills covers nearly all the solid rock except along the crest of the escarpment.³ This glacial drift is up to 200 feet thick in Essex County and gradually becomes shallower towards the east and north. Whatever may have been the surface features of the earlier glaciation it was the last one, the Wisconsin, which formed the present landscape. It was the water melting from the dying stages of this glacier that first filled the Great Lakes as we know them, that carved out most of the present stream valleys and laid down the lacustrine clays of the most productive agricultural areas.

The climatic environment of Southwestern Ontario again presents great contrasts. Situated in the middle of a large continent, the area has a great range of temperature from winter to summer, but these extremes are modified by the presence of the surrounding lakes. The average January temperatures are 20°F., the average July 69°F.⁴ These figures do not reveal the true climate, for this is an area of the greatest variability of weather. There can be greater changes of temperature from day to day than from season to season. Out-surges of cold dry polar air masses can be replaced by warm moist Gulf air overnight at any season of the year, though of course the air masses are colder in winter than in summer. Precipitation comes both from the edges or fronts of these differing air masses and from the air masses themselves. An average of 35 inches of precipitation falls over the area annually and is spread regularly throughout the year. The effect of the lakes is also seen in the amount of precipitation, for air which moves into the area from any direction but northeast is forced to pass over water. The slight uplift caused by the land surface makes it drop the water it has picked up. In winter the precipitation falls as snow and there is a well developed "snow belt" on the lee side of Lake Huron. It extends parallel to the lake shore from Walkerton in the north to London in the south, where over 80 inches of snow falls every winter. Spring, the period between the leaf buds and the flower is a period of only about three weeks in this area. This rapid change from winter to summer conditions however allows a minimum average over-all frost-free period of over 140 days. This frost-free period is increased to 170 days in the southwest and 155 days in the Niagara Peninsula.⁵

The modified continental climate has allowed the growth of a climax vegetation of forest. These forests covered nearly all the area prior to the arrival of the farmer but now only 10.2 per cent of them remains.⁶ The trees are mainly of mixed coniferous and deciduous species, with a greater preponderance of softwoods in the north and hardwoods in the south. The Great Lakes forest, a pine, spruce, yellow birch, maple association is the normal vegetation of the whole area. South of a line drawn from Toronto to Grand Bend on Lake

³L. J. Chapman and D. F. Putnam, *The Physiography of Southern Ontario* (Toronto, 1951), 11 ff.

⁴Canada, Department of Transport, Meteorological Division, *Climatic Summaries for Selected Meteorological Stations in the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto, 1947) 14, 36, 50.

⁵D. F. Putnam and L. J. Chapman, "The Climate of Southern Ontario" (*Scientific Agriculture*, XVIII, April, 1938) 401-406.

⁶Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census Division, *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941* (12 vols., Ottawa, 1947), VIII, 1020-1047.

Huron, a tolerant hardwood association including black walnut, chestnut, tulip tree, magnolia, papaw and sycamore forms the Southern Hardwoods. The line represents the northern limits of these species.⁷

Under the original forest cover developed a soil which, under a general classification, is a grey-brown podsol.⁸ Varieties of slope, aspect, parent material and drainage have so influenced the soil formation processes that as a whole the terms colour, texture and structure are better indicators of the agricultural capabilities of the land. Slightly acid clay loams and sands form the most productive land.

Within the geographical region of Southwestern Ontario there seem to be two main occupations, farming and manufacturing, or growing and making. These two occupations are, from the point of view of their products, functionally connected. But, at the same time, there are major distinctions between them. Farming is carried out using mainly local raw materials of soil and climate, manufacturing in this area is based upon imported materials using only local power supplies in its operations. Hence a great emphasis is placed upon transportation facilities from an industrial viewpoint. The second distinction is in the amount of land required. Farms are large land areas with relatively low capitalisation. Factories occupy small land areas with high capitalisation. The delimitation of the industrial area cannot, however, be made at the edge of the factory, for then it would be impossible to map them. Every industry is the centre of a much larger area of land over which its influence is felt. Within this area live its employees, and those engaged in supplying the services for them. The limits of the area are set by the distance the worker is willing to travel each day to get to work: or more accurately the time a worker is willing to spend, for accessibility is measured not in distance but in time. Thus, around the industrial centres are grouped suburban sprawls and dormitory villages interrupting the agricultural use of the land and altering its use-classification from rural to urban.

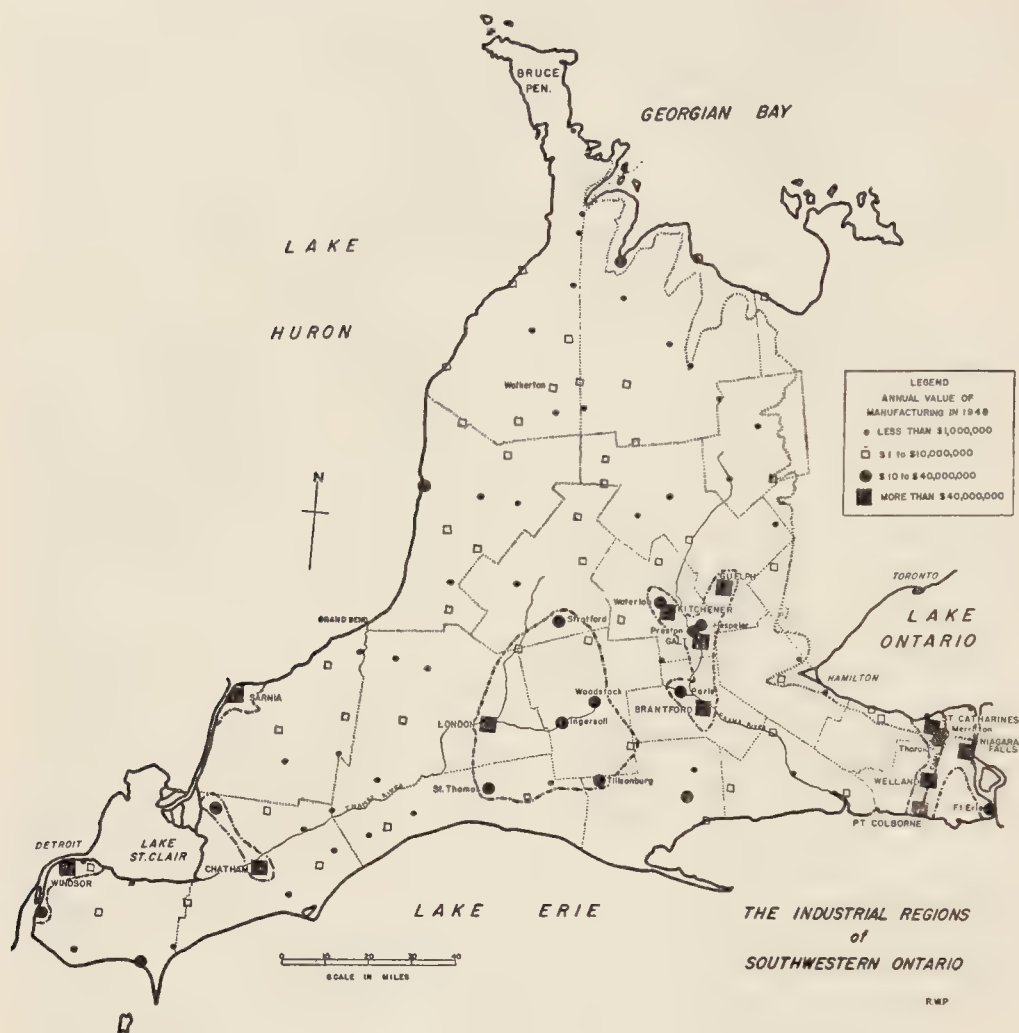
There appear to be six major industrial regions in Southwestern Ontario, each one existing because of, and dependent upon, a particular local advantage. The criteria of industrial density and interconnection have been used in outlining the areas.⁹ The Windsor region, in the southwest, is dependent upon the water transport of the Detroit River and Lake St. Clair and especially upon the presence of the city of Detroit on the right bank of the river. In fact the whole city of Windsor is little more than an overflow of Detroit with automobile factories built to by-pass the Canadian tariff barrier.

In the west the Sarnia area is a result of the cheap transportation of raw materials by lake boat and of unlimited supplies of cold, unpolluted water from Lake Huron. The so-called "Chemical Valley" is in the process of rapid expansion with oil refining and synthetic rubber the chief products.

⁷Canada, Department of Mines and Resources, *Native Trees of Canada* (Ottawa, 1949), map.

⁸P. C. Stobbe and A. Leahey, *Guide for the Selection of Agricultural Soils* (Ottawa, 1948), 8-9.

⁹Canada, Bureau of Statistics, General Manufacturers Section, *Geographical distribution of the manufacturing industries*, 1948 (Ottawa, 1951), 23-34.

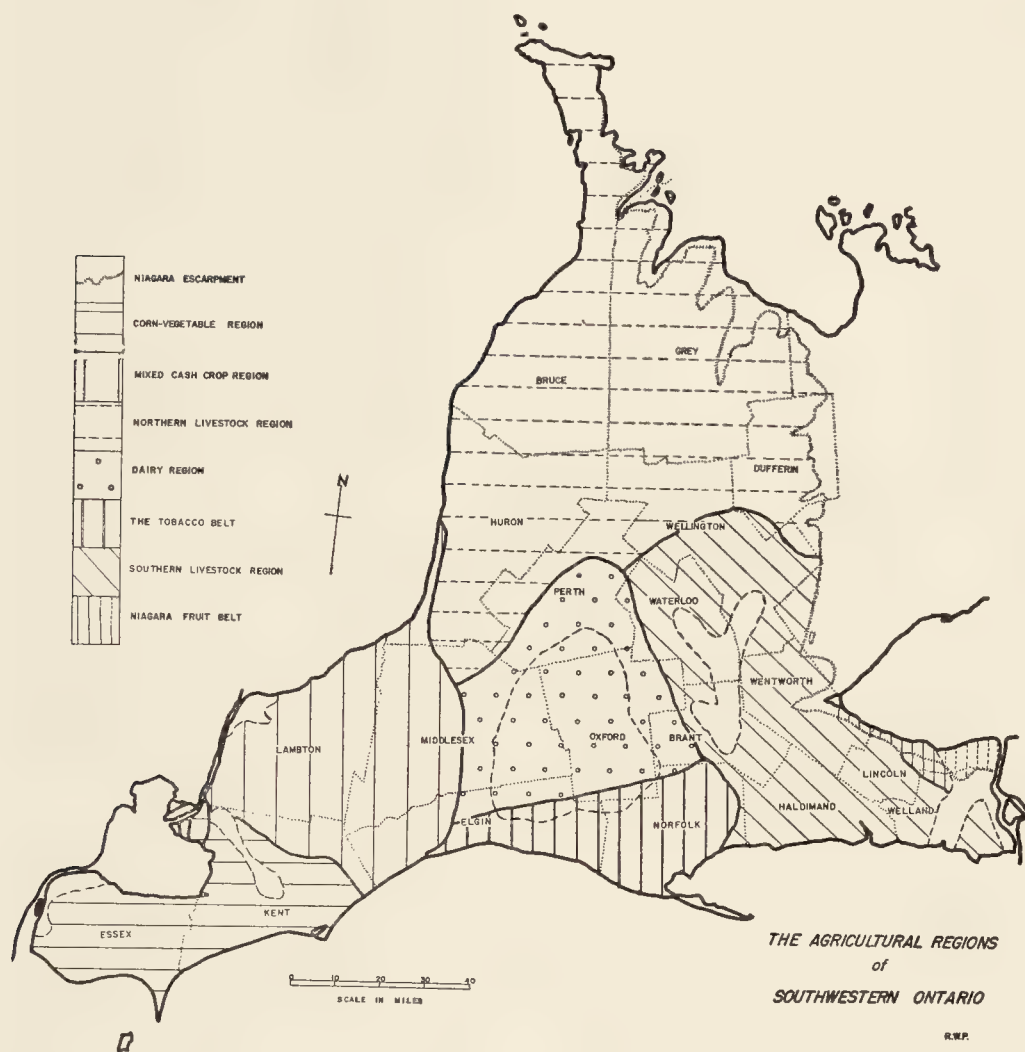


Immediately east of Lake St. Clair is the Chatham-Wallaceburg region. The geographical basis of both these towns was originally access, by water, to the Great Lakes system via the Thames and Sydenham Rivers. Modern rail and road routes now supplement canal boats.

In the central counties there is a wide scattering of industrial towns, no pair of them being less than nine miles apart. These towns, London, Woodstock, Stratford, St. Thomas, Ingersoll and Tillsonburg began as agricultural service towns but, once they were joined by a dense network of railway lines, developed into processing and manufacturing towns. The six towns produced 12 per cent by value of all the manufactured products of Southwestern Ontario in 1948. Though these cities form a region they are well integrated with an agricultural hinterland. The basis of this region is mainly location, flanking and on, the east-west rail network.

The fifth manufacturing region lies along the valley of the Grand River and its tributaries. It stretches from Guelph in the north to

¹⁰*Ibid.*



Brantford in the south, including the cities of Kitchener-Waterloo, Hespeler, Preston, Galt and Paris. The original local resource of water for power and nearby lumber for raw materials has been replaced by hydro-electricity and imported vegetable, animal and mineral products for textiles, leather goods and machinery.

In the southeast of the Niagara peninsula occurs the Welland Canal complex. It includes the cities of Welland, St. Catharines, Meriton, Thorold, Port Colborne, Niagara Falls and Fort Erie. The dual basis of this complex is the hydro-electric power development from the falling waters of the Niagara River, and the Welland Canal which allows easy access to raw materials and markets through the Great Lakes system.

It will be noted that all these industrial regions lie in the southern part of the region though there is a regular pattern of medium sized "middle towns."¹¹ with an agricultural aspect throughout the whole

¹¹N. M. McArthur, *Industrial Development in Towns of the London Area* (M. A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Western Ontario, 1950), 150-155.

region. Out of a total dollar value of production of \$2,056,000,000 in 1948, \$1,726,000,000 or 84 per cent was produced in the industrial regions outlined above. This is slightly more than the value produced by the Toronto Metropolitan area where there are 4,005 manufacturing establishments as compared with 1,840 firms in these decentralized regions.¹² This suggests perhaps that unit productivity is higher in the smaller cities than in the large modern con-urbations.

The remainder of the land area of Southwestern Ontario is in agricultural use. Of the 149,920 farms in Ontario 75,697 or nearly half are in this area.¹³ These farms produce 78 per cent of all the field products and 70 per cent of the vegetables and fruits of Ontario. Typical of this region is specialized cash crop farming with an increasing tendency towards larger farm units and greater use of farm machinery. The products of the farms have two main destinations either to nearby industrial areas as food supplies or to the "middle towns" for processing for distant markets.

There seem to be seven main agricultural regions within the topographic limits of Southwestern Ontario.¹⁴ In the southwest, the flat, poorly drained, lake-deposited clays of Kent and Essex Counties form the major corn growing area. This is the most favoured climatic area in Canada, the only one in which corn can be grown on a large scale. Along the Lake Erie shore and near the cities are narrow zones of market gardening. It is axiomatic that near large city markets any land is good market gardening land because low transportation costs to nearby markets and the higher value of fresh perishable products allow an artificial fertility to be created in the soil.

To the east of the corn belt lies an interesting region about 50 miles wide stretching from Lake Erie to Lake Huron. In this area the general economy is mixed farming, with specialty cash crops taking up the largest acreage. The exact crop that is grown on any specific farm in any one year depends more upon prevailing prices, price supports, demand or individual whim than upon a geographical condition. This is an area where corn, sugar beets, oats, wheat, turnips, flax, barley or forage crops can be grown. These crops compete for acreage each year, a factor which makes planned conservation rotations quite unusual.

In the southern portion of Norfolk County and adjoining portions of Elgin, Brant, Oxford and Haldimand Counties the retreating Ontario-Erie lobe of the Wisconsin glacier left behind a large spread of sands and gravels, chiefly in a delta form although some remain as sand dunes and lake shores. On this sand, the natural vegetation was grass or pine forest. The soils are sands and sandy loams, slightly acid but well drained, and low in organic content. The agricultural use of the soils was, until 1928, limited to rather poor mixed farming and stock raising. By that date their use for growing flue-cured tobacco was realized. To-day these farms have the highest dollar value of any

¹²Canada, Bureau of Statistics, General Manufactures Section, *Geographical distribution of the manufacturing industries*, 1948, (Ottawa, 1951), 34.

¹³Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census Division, *Ninth Census of Canada*, 1951 (Ottawa, 1952, Bulletin 6-5) 1-4.

¹⁴S. C. Hudson, R. A. Stutt, W. M. Van Vleit, J. L. Forsyth, *Types of Farming in Canada* (Ottawa, 1949, Department of Agriculture, Publication 825), 61-62.

in Southwestern Ontario. The only similarity between tobacco culture and the general farm economy is a dependence upon weather conditions for growth and harvest; and even these can be partially controlled by intensive irrigation. The soil is used only as footing for plants. Organic matter, artificial fertilisers and water are added. The plants themselves are grown from seed in greenhouses, then transplanted. Cultivation is by hand or by horse-drawn machinery; harvesting is a hand operation requiring a large temporary mobile labour force. Tobacco growing is almost a factory operation and should be considered as such.¹⁵

To the north of the Tobacco Belt and centred on Oxford County is a region of dairy farming. The land surface is mainly rolling moraines and undulating clay plains inherently suited to pasture and fodder crops. The climate is moist and mild but much more important factors are the large consumer markets for fluid milk of the Central and Grand Valley industrial areas and the rapid transportation routes for the milk surplus to the processing plants for butter fats, cheese, and evaporated products.

To the north and east of the Dairy Region lies another area of what is essentially a mixed farming zone. However, it differs from the western mixed farming region since it grows very few cash crops. Cash income is obtained chiefly by the sale of livestock and livestock products. Beef and dairy cattle, swine and poultry are the most important. Throughout the Northern livestock area are found part-time and self-sufficing farms, particularly in the Bruce Peninsula and along the edge of the escarpment. There are several areas of specialty crops especially apples, along the Georgian Bay lowlands.

In the eastern part of Southwestern Ontario lies a much more commercialised stock raising area extending from Guelph in the north to the Lake Erie shore. It is an area which changes from moraines and drumlins in the north to flat clay plains in the south. A concentration upon local markets with an emphasis on vegetables is an added feature of this economy.

Although not strictly included within my original designation of Southwestern Ontario a few words about the area between the Niagara escarpment and Lake Ontario may not be out of place. Here is to be found the southern extension of the Ontario Fruit Belt. Here are grown over half of the tree fruits and small fruits of the province.¹⁶ The sloping land, the well drained former lake beaches and the lower elevation tend to make the region warmer, less susceptible to frost and wind damage than anywhere else in Canada. It is an area of very intensive land use and in addition has the advantage of a great pool of part-time or seasonal labour from the nearby industrial complex.

¹⁵R. C. Vance, *Tobacco Economy and People of the New Belt* (M. A. Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Western Ontario, 1952), 1-22.

¹⁶Canada, Bureau of Statistics, Census Division, *Ninth Census of Canada 1951* (Ottawa, 1952, Bulletin 6-6) 1-8.

The importance of Southwestern Ontario to the economy of Canada cannot be too greatly stressed. It lies across the main transportation routes with access both east and west and north and south. It is the industrial area which can most easily feed itself. It has local supplies of hydro-electric power and increasing reserves of natural gas. The future development of the St. Lawrence Seaway can only accelerate its growth.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RAILWAY NETWORK OF SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO TO 1876

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When Stephenson drove the first steam locomotive on the Stockton and Darlington Railway on September 27, 1825, he generated much enthusiasm in many parts of the world. The western part of Upper Canada was no exception. Between 1825 and 1840 no fewer than seventeen petitions for bills relating to railways within the region bounded by the Niagara River and Yonge Street on one side and the Detroit River on the other were presented to the Assembly of Upper Canada.¹

An early proposal for a railway in the peninsula came from a public meeting held in 1832 in London, then a village but six years old. The meeting petitioned for a charter to construct a railroad between the town of London and the head waters of Lake Ontario. The object of the supporters of this scheme was to provide facilities within the region for transporting its surplus produce to market.

When the petition reached the Legislature it was referred to a committee, the chairman of which was Colonel Mahlon Burwell, a local member. On January 9, 1833, the committee recommended approval of the formation of a joint stock company to construct a "Rail Road from the town of London to the head waters of Lake Ontario" as requested. But the committee went further, and concluded: "Your Committee cannot refrain from indulging the fond hope that the period is not very far distant when the advancement of that most interesting portion of the country to which the petitioners have adverted will be such as to require the Legislature to authorize the construction of Rail Roads from Goderich, on Lake Huron, to the town of London, and from the River Aux Peche, near the foot of Lake Huron, via Adelaide, to the said Town of London."² This was a far-sighted proposal in view of the fact that the London District then had a population of 28,841 and in the three districts between Hamilton and the Detroit River there were only 66,692 inhabitants.³

The proposal resulted in the incorporation of the London and Gore Railroad Company on March 6, 1834.⁴ The list of promoters looks like a *Who's Who* in London. More than half of them were Londoners, and the rest represented Hamilton and intermediate points. It is interesting to note that at least one of the promoters was a stage coach proprietor who evidently saw the need to keep abreast of progress.

The effort was premature and the ideas of the promoters were greater than their funds. Subsequently the Act was renewed and

¹*General Index to the Journals of the House of Assembly of the late Province of Upper Canada* (Montreal, 1848), 472-5.

²*Journal of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada Session, 1832-3*, Appendix, 210.

³*Ibid.*, 186.

⁴Wm. IV, c. 29.

amended more than once and the name of the railway also underwent changes. The ultimate name, given in 1853, was the Great Western Railway Company.⁵

During these years a man named Henry Dalley put forward a scheme for a road between London and Detroit. He was a genial and plausible promoter and seems to have collected considerable funds in the country districts. His plans matured sufficiently to justify his sending out survey parties, if these were not part of his window dressing. His enterprise fell through, with disastrous consequences to those who had trusted him. It is said that subsequently Dalley went to New York where he made a fortune in selling patent medicines. It is difficult to accept the further local tradition that he remembered his Upper Canadian friends with gifts of Dalley's salve.⁶

During the formative years of the Great Western and its antecedents the fundamental purpose of the railway underwent a change. Instead of a portage road and a road for the distribution of local goods, the promoters began talking of the importance of providing a short road across the peninsula to carry goods from and to the American West. Many expressions of this view are available. That in the *Canada Directory* for 1851 is typical: "This road which is now in course of construction will pass through the finest portion of the Province, and when completed must necessarily be the great highway for the travel, and for the transport of a large portion of the produce of the North Western States of the American Union, as well as of Western Canada."⁷

By 1847 the Great Western had reached the stage of the turning of the first sod. On October 23 Colonel Thomas Talbot, directors, and other notables, carried out the ceremony on a vacant lot on the west side of Richmond Street, where the Hyman tannery stands today.⁸ At that time the intention was that the railway should come through London approximately on the present line of the C.P.R. Local considerations shifted the G.W.R. line to the present C.N.R. right of way.

Construction of the Great Western began in 1851.⁹ The section east of the Grand River was built by Farewell and Company, of which a partner was Samuel Zimmerman, who played a leading part in the railway building of the time. West of the Grand River part of the construction was carried out by Ferrell and Van Voorhis. Recently an interesting account of this section of the work turned up in the collections of the New York Historical Society.¹⁰

In due time, on November 10, 1853, the first section of forty-three miles was completed, from Suspension Bridge, at Niagara Falls, to Hamilton. The greatest enthusiasm came with the opening of the

⁵ Wm. IV, c. 61; 8 Vic. c. 86; 16 Vic. c. 99.

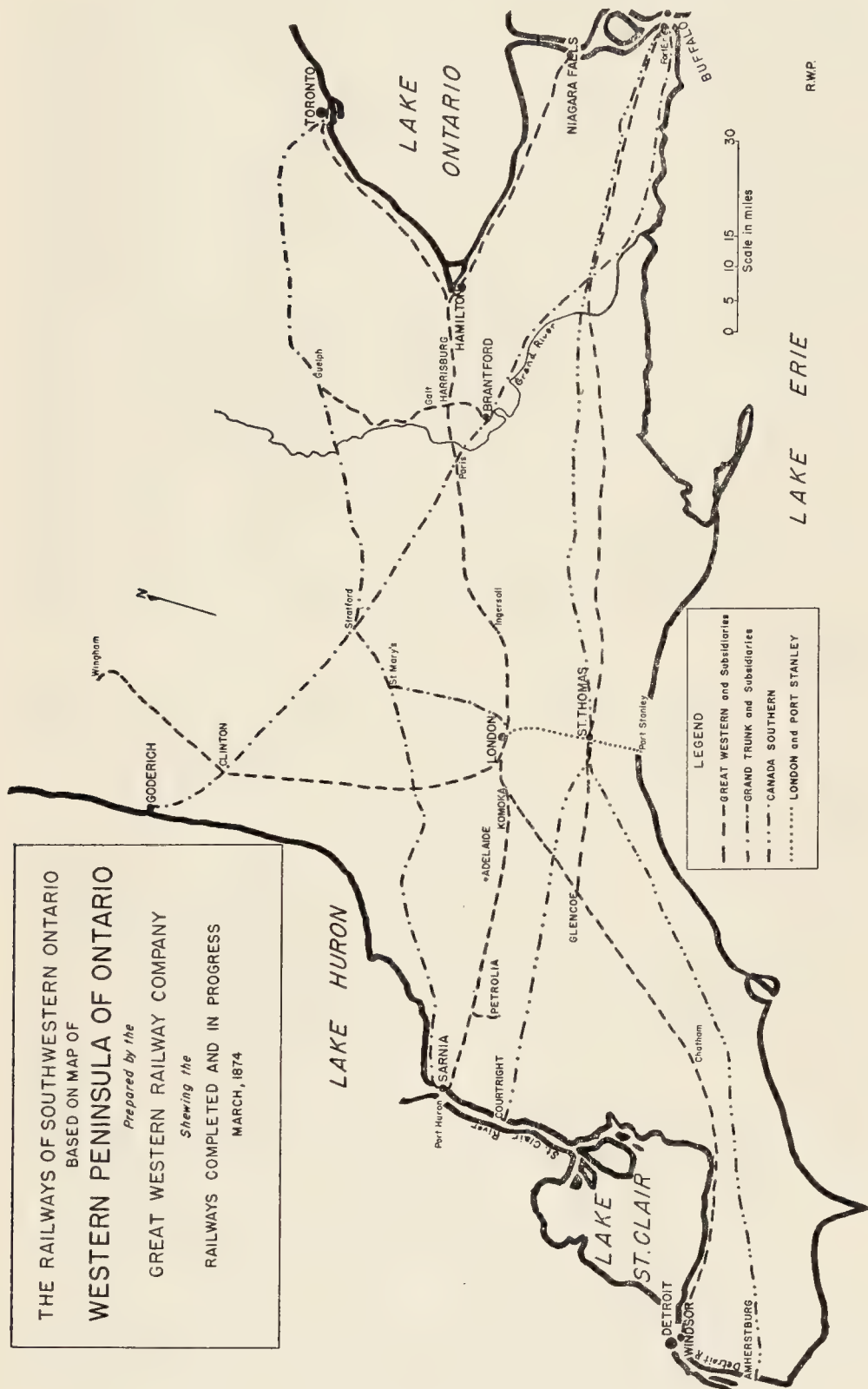
⁶ Cl. T. Campbell, "The settlement of London," *London and Middlesex Historical Society Transactions* (London, 1911), III, 25.

⁷ Robert W. S. Mackay, *The Canada Directory* (Montreal, 1851), 574.

⁸ *The Globe*, Toronto, Oct. 27, 1847.

⁹ *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session, 1851*, Appendix U.U.

¹⁰ A. G. Bogue and Lillian R. Benson (eds.), "An engineer on the Great Western," (*Western Ontario History Nuggets*, No. 17, 1952).



seventy-six mile section between Hamilton and London. The line opened for traffic on December 31, 1853, but the first passenger run was on December 15. On that day a special train left Hamilton in the morning. The *Toronto Globe*, December 19, 1853, gave a full account of the excursion which cannot detain us now. Suffice it to say that during the journey the celebrators stopped four times, at Flamboro, Paris, Woodstock, and Ingersoll for lunches, all of which were accompanied by champagne, "an article which, by the way," the *Globe* reporter added, "has become very common in Canada since railways came into fashion. The libations which the wheelbarrow men pour out to their god Plutus is always of this generous wine."

The journey ended in London which was suitably decorated for the occasion, where inevitably there was another dinner with many speeches and much wine.¹¹ The dream of the promoters of the London and Gore twenty years before had been realized. Colonel Talbot, who had been with the first official party to visit London in 1793, and who had turned the first sod for the railway, did not live quite long enough to see the first train. He died on February 6, 1853. Since he was an adult when he migrated to Upper Canada, his life illustrates the speed with which Western Ontario moved out of the pioneer stage.

The road to Detroit, 110 miles, was opened for traffic on January 27, 1854. Celebrations of the traditional type were held in Detroit on January 17. The return celebration was held in Hamilton on January 19.¹²

The first months of operation were a nightmare. By the end of October, 1854, there had been no fewer than seventeen accidents, thirteen involving loss of human life. Some accidents were not the fault of the railway. At least four were cases in which a train ran over a man lying drunk on the track at night. But two accidents cost the lives of six and seven passengers, respectively, and on October 27, 1854, fifty-two passengers were killed and forty-eight were injured at Baptiste Creek, not far from Chatham. The accident was caused by the negligence of a conductor.¹³ Since the railway had begun operation before the road-bed was ready, and since all train crews must have been inexperienced, the record is hardly surprising. Contemporary newspapers reported many accidents on American roads but the G.W.R. record does seem to have been excessive. So disturbing was the record of accidents that after the one at Baptiste Creek an editorial writer on the staff of the *Western Planet*, Chatham, November 1, 1854 exclaimed: "Better, infinitely better, that the whistle of the locomotive had never awoke the echo of our forests, than that it should have sounded the death knell of so many human beings, who have dyed with their blood this road, within the past few months."

¹¹The *Middlesex Prototype*, London, Dec. 17, 1853.

¹²"The Great Western Railway," London and Middlesex Historical Society *Transactions* (London, 1909), II, 44.

¹³"Schedule of accidents on the Great Western Railway from opening of the road to 1st November, 1854. Reports of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into a series of accidents and detentions on the Great Western Railway, Canada West, by commission bearing date Nov. 3, 1854." *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, 1854-5. Appendix YY.

The Great Western quickly began developing a network within Southwestern Ontario. On August 21, 1854, twelve miles were added with the completion of the Harrisburg to Galt branch. At the end of November, 1872, this line was extended south to Brantford.

In 1857, the Great Western established connections with Toronto by amalgamating with the Hamilton and Toronto Railway, which had been put through by a different company in 1855. In 1857 the G.W.R. took over the Galt and Guelph line, which also had been constructed under another charter. In both these cases the financial arrangements were complicated.¹⁴

Thus by 1857 the Great Western controlled lines from Windsor to Suspension Bridge and Toronto, with a branch line to Guelph, through Galt. At Toronto the road made connections with the Grand Trunk and consequently had direct contact with Montreal. At Suspension Bridge, connection was made with the New York Central by means of a bridge, opened in March, 1855. At Windsor connection was made with the Michigan Central and Detroit and Milwaukee Railroads by means of ferries.¹⁵

The first railway built in Southwestern Ontario with a view to developing the region rather than to providing a short cut across the peninsula was the London and Port Stanley Railway, completed in September, 1856. This was essentially a local road of twenty-four miles. It was advocated first by business men of London and most of the capital stock was subscribed by the municipalities through which it ran. London made by far the greatest contribution, subscribing \$220,000 of the capital stock of \$388,500. In a very few years the city was forced to take over the road, into which further funds were poured.

Although the anticipated revenues were not realized, the building of the London and Port Stanley quickly had a salutary effect on rail rates in the region. The Great Western and the Grand Trunk, it was stated, were forced to reduce rates fifty per cent on farm produce and merchandise on account of the competitive rates offered. Certainly, in 1858, wheat shipped from London, via the Great Western, cost one cent a bushel less to put aboard a ship at Hamilton than wheat shipped from Ingersoll, nineteen miles closer to that destination.¹⁶

The railway, in addition, provided an inexpensive means of travel whereby excursionists from London and St. Thomas could visit the lakeside.

The position of the Great Western as a carrier to and from the American west was soon challenged by two other roads. The first was the Buffalo and Lake Huron, which ran from Fort Erie to Goderich. It crossed the G.W.R. at Paris Junction. This road was incorporated in 1852 and like the Great Western was largely controlled in England. The road was opened on June 28, 1858, but the official celebration did not come until July 8. The purpose of the road was

¹⁴J. M. and Edw. Trout, *The Railways of Canada for 1870-1* (Toronto, 1871), 96, 97.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 95.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 114-7; *Weekly Dispatch*, St. Thomas, Nov. 4, 1858. See also T. H. M. Ferris, *History of the London and Port Stanley Railway, 1852-1946*, ms. thesis in the General Library, The University of Western Ontario, London, 1946.

revealed in the speeches on that day and by the banners decorating the large hall built especially for the occasion. In addition to such obvious banners as "God save the Queen" and "Welcome", there were others, "Buffalo", "Saginaw", "Chicago", "Milwaukee". The general manager of the railway spoke of the great commercial highway which had been opened up "between Buffalo, the Saginaw, Milwaukee, Chicago and the Great West." This railway, he said, "was of all others the best and shortest route for the immense trade and travel between the east and west."¹⁷ The Buffalo and Lake Huron was operated by the Grand Trunk.

The main line of the Grand Trunk soon posed a far greater threat to the Great Western. By August, 1856, the railway was operating from Toronto to Montreal and gradually began pushing west. By November 21, 1856, the rails reached St. Mary's, leaving only the gap between that place and Sarnia and between Detroit and Port Huron in a line from the Atlantic to the west. But the threat to the G.W.R. came closer to home on September 27, 1858, when the Grand Trunk opened a line from St. Mary's to London.

The Great Western, three months later, on December 27, reached Sarnia with a branch from Komoka. The celebration of this event on January 14, 1859, took the usual form of an excursion and a dinner. The Honourable Malcolm Cameron, speaking on this occasion, said that he considered the Sarnia branch essential to the Great Western, "in fact its salvation, as affording the most direct connection between the west and eastern Railways, to the seaboard." Sarnia, he believed, "from its natural position, was the best crossing place between the west and the Atlantic cities." The *Sarnia Observer* stated that he said: "It was well known he had always been favorable to the Grand Trunk, but he felt satisfied that the Great Western formed the chain of communication to the Suspension Bridge, consequently it would always be the great thoroughfare for all traffic from the west to New York and Boston." Cameron also pointed out that the completion of the branch to Sarnia brought to fruition the original idea of the promoters of the London and Gore.¹⁸

Although the competition was not good for the railways concerned, one fact stood out. The city of London profited. By the end of 1858 London had rail connections to the west at Windsor and Sarnia and to the east or northeast at Stratford and Hamilton (thus with Toronto, Montreal, and Portland), Suspension Bridge (thus with New York and Boston), and to the south at Port Stanley (from which place a steamer sailed every other day during the summer to Cleveland).

Before the Grand Trunk had completed its line to Sarnia the Great Western suffered a financial crisis. The newspapers which supported the road attributed its troubles to the general depression of the time. Opponents blamed the situation on the directors for putting the railway into operation before the road-bed was finished, with resulting expensive accidents, and for rushing into the construction

¹⁷The *News of the Week*, Toronto, July 16, 1858; The *Globe*, Toronto, July 10, 1858; The *Leader*, Toronto, July 12, 1858.

¹⁸The *Sarnia Observer*, Nov. 25, Dec. 30, 1858; Jan. 14, 1859.

of branches. The *Leader*, Toronto, October 10, 1859, stated "To build branches was to supply contracts; and if the branches did not pay, it is reasonable to suppose, looking at the enormous cost of the road, that the contracts did. If those who advanced the money were the losers, those who got it were the gainers."¹⁹

Finally, to round out the troubles of the Great Western, the Grand Trunk completed lines from Detroit to Port Huron and from St. Mary's to Sarnia on November 21, 1859. Despite the remarks of Malcolm Cameron and the enthusiastic support accorded the Great Western Sarnia branch by the *Sarnia Observer* less than a year before, that paper declared on August 5, 1859: "The Grand Trunk road from Portland westward, will ultimately be the great thoroughfare between Europe and the great North-west territory of this continent, there can be no doubt whatever, as well for the conveyance of passengers and goods to this vast region, as for the transport of its products to the old world." The editor might have been writing for a newspaper ninety years later when he described the completion of the Grand Trunk as "almost amounting to the annihilation of time and terrestrial space," compared with the state of things a half century before. He estimated that it would take fifty-six hours to go from Detroit to Portland.

With competition to the north, it was not long before competition for the Great Western also developed to the south. The Great Western consistently and spiritedly opposed the incorporation of any southern competitor, but in 1868 the Canada Southern Railway was projected from Amherstburg to Fort Erie and in 1873 was completed. Partly to compete with this southern rival the Great Western built a branch, called the "air-line," from Glencoe to Buffalo. During the early months of 1873 a race developed between the two roads. The Great Western won by a few weeks. Later in the same year the Canada Southern ran a branch from St. Thomas to Courtright on the St. Clair River.²⁰

So far the railway network centring on London had one gap, a line envisaged by Mahlon Burwell in 1833. This was a rail connection north to Lake Huron. This line came with the opening on December 31, 1875, of the London, Huron and Bruce, operated by the Great Western. This line ran from London to Wingham through Clinton, where it crossed the old Buffalo and Lake Huron, thus making connections with Goderich.²¹

In 1882 the Grand Trunk absorbed the Great Western. Such a union had been talked of several times. The end of the Great Western was inevitable largely because the road had no adequate termini. In due time the Grand Trunk disappeared in the Canadian National Railway System. Interestingly enough the most important line of the C.N.R. through Southwestern Ontario is the old G.W.R. right-of-way, the Komoka to Sarnia branch, being the important link. The London business men of 1832 who proposed the original railway, and Colonel Burwell who called for an expansion of their views, were far-sighted for their time and the subsequent years have borne out their judgment.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, May 27, June 3, 1859; *Hamilton Times*, *London Free Press*, quoted in *Sarnia Observer*, Sept. 30, 1859.

²⁰*Weekly Dispatch*, St. Thomas, Oct. 10, 1872; Feb. 20, 27, Dec. 25, 1873.

²¹The *Huron Expositor*, Searforth, Jan. 7, 14, 1876.

DISCUSSION

MR. CONACHER raised the question of the lack of urban centres along the Lake Erie shore, in contrast with the populous shoreline of Lake Ontario. MR. PACKER suggested that the ridge running east and west, somewhat north of the shore, provided a foundation for east-west transportation routes, which would be interrupted by frequent creeks which ran through deep gullies to Lake Erie; in the case of Lake Ontario's shore, the transportation pattern on land developed to link up port towns by a shore route. MESSRS. STACEY, TALMAN, SAGE and SAUNDERS emphasized the importance of schooner traffic both across and along Lake Erie, and contrasted the evolution of transportation and the spread of settlement in the history of the two lakes. Turning to the development of railways MR. SOWARD questioned the motives for such obvious over-projection of lines. MESSRS. TALMAN, STACEY, WAITE, LONDON, GLOVER, GRAY, MASTERS, PRESTON and STEVENS sought for the economic stimulants which gave rise to the railway building boom; indicated that railways were but a part of the whole development of finance capitalism, a field as yet little examined by Canadian historians; and indicated that some source material for the history of the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways had been lost by fire, but that other material remained, such as the Francis Shanley papers in the Ontario Archives. A history of the Canadian National Railway from 1837 onward, it was stated, had recently been commissioned.

THE FEDERAL ARCHIVAL SCENE

W. KAYE LAMB

Public Archives of Canada

To survey the whole of the federal archival scene would take much more time than is available this morning. I propose therefore to deal chiefly with the Manuscript Division of the Public Archives, and to outline the recent developments there which I think will be of most interest to Canadian historians. Specifically, the points I have in mind are the following: The reorganization of the manuscript collections; the preparation of a series of preliminary inventories describing the collections; expansion of the Division's holdings of official records of the Government of Canada; acquisition of an important group of post-Confederation political papers, and, finally, the extensive use of microfilm.

The old arrangement of manuscripts on the shelves served several generations of scholars long and faithfully, but the growth of the collections made a change essential. The old system leaned heavily on the alphabet, which has the advantage of simplicity, but plays havoc with that basic essential of the archivist, chronology. The example of this which springs to my mind is the papers of the two Alexander Mackenzies. The alphabet brought together the papers of a fur trader who explored the Mackenzie River in 1789, and those of the politician who became prime minister of Canada in 1872. Obviously the two have little in common. The papers of Mackenzie the explorer should be with the papers of his colleagues in the fur trade; the prime minister's letter-books belong in a collection of post-Confederation political papers. In other words, manuscripts should be so arranged as to bring together documents of the same period and common provenance.

The Manuscript Division decided finally to adopt, with some important modifications, the "Group" system of arrangement which was developed by the National Archives of the United States. All official records in our custody have been divided into "Record Groups", each of which consists of the records of some convenient unit of the Government. In many instances the unit is a department, or a major branch of a large department; in others it is an executive office, such as that of the Governor General. When arranging records within an individual Record Group the Division has been careful to remember that thousands of footnotes in hundreds of printed volumes, some published many years ago, cite references to manuscript sources in the Public Archives. Unnecessary changes have been avoided, and provided a citation was adequate and correct in the first instance, no difficulty should be experienced in finding the document to which it refers. The famous "G" series, for example, is now included in Record Group 7, but no change of consequence has been made within the "G" series itself.

Unlike the Archives in Washington, the Public Archives, in addition to official records, has in its possession a very large collection of private papers, transcripts, photostats and microfilms. This material we have arranged in what we call "Manuscript Groups". The Public Archives seems to be the first institution in which this plan has been adopted on any scale. It has worked out very well in practice. Each Manuscript Group consists of essentially similar material relating to a given period. Manuscript Group 19, for example, is made up of documents, or copies of documents, relating to exploration, the fur trade and the Indians in the period 1763-1867. Here Sir Alexander Mackenzie's papers have found a logical place alongside those of Simon Fraser, David Thompson, and a hundred other traders and explorers of his time. Other Manuscript Groups consist of transcripts and microfilm copies of records relating to Canada which are preserved in some other depository. Thus Group 1 consists of copies of documents in the Archives des Colonies in Paris, while Group 11 consists of copies of Colonial Office papers in the Public Record Office, in London. The 431 volumes of transcripts which make up the famous "Q" series now form part of Manuscript Group 11, but the series itself has been left quite undisturbed.

It may matter little to scholars how records are arranged on the shelves, but the point was of major importance to the Manuscript Division for two reasons. First, the Public Archives expects soon to have accommodation available which will allow it to function as a full-fledged public record office. This means that the Archives must be prepared to receive and organize very large quantities of departmental records. A shelf arrangement capable of rapid and almost unlimited expansion was therefore essential, and the Record Group system has the required flexibility. The second reason for the rearrangement stems from the fact that the Archives is a national institution seeking to serve scholars in a country of great physical extent. The average Canadian historian works hundred of miles from Ottawa, and adequate catalogues of the documents in the Manuscript Division would be of great service to him. Having arranged its material in convenient and logical groups, the Division has undertaken the very considerable task of preparing preliminary inventories of everything in its keeping. This project may surprise those who are familiar with the innumerable lists, guides and calendars that the department has printed in its annual reports or as separate publications over a long period of years. The difficulty is that these aids to research are scattered through many volumes, some of which are now out of print, and that in spite of their number they cover only a part of the collections in the Archives. What is required is a concise, consistent description of everything available, so arranged as to give the reader some idea of the extent and nature of any particular file, and of the period to which it refers. As explained in the circular announcement issued with the first of the new inventories, the object is to "make it possible for research workers at a distance to ascertain with some precision what papers are preserved in the Public Archives, and to judge with some accuracy whether the department has in its custody significant material relating to any particular topic."

The first of the new inventories was published in the autumn of 1951. It described the documents comprising Record Group 10, which consists of all records of the Indian Affairs Branch and its predecessors which have been transferred to the Public Archives. The text proper is preceded by an introduction in which the history of the administration of Indian affairs in Canada is briefly summarized, and followed by an appendix listing past and present senior administrative officers of the Branch. With minor variations, all the Record Group inventories are expected to follow this general pattern. To date seven inventories — five devoted to Record Groups and two to Manuscript Groups — have been published. Three more are in the press, another two are almost ready for the printer, and others are in preparation. It is not yet possible to say definitely how many inventories will be required to complete the series, but the total will probably be about forty. Comments would seem to indicate that the first titles are as helpful as we hoped they would be.

I said a moment ago that the Public Archives expects soon to be able to function as a full-fledged public record office. This idea is not new. It was clearly in the minds of a committee which, fifty years ago, drafted an order-in-council directing that public papers should be "assembled in one place and put into the custody of one person, and so arranged and classified as to be easily accessible to all persons interested therein." The Royal Commission appointed in 1912 "to inquire into the state of the Records of the Public Departments of the Dominion" recommended that a public record office should be brought into being, and that the archives building should be enlarged to accommodate the great volume of material that should be transferred to it. After a long delay due to the Great War 1914-18 the Archives building was finally enlarged in 1925-26, but it was still far too small to serve the purpose that the Royal Commission had in view.

Space has always been the basic difficulty, but this should be solved within the next two years. An Archives Records Building, to be erected near the new home of the Bureau of Statistics, at Tunney's Pasture, should be completed by the spring of 1955. To this building the various departments of Government will be invited to send all records not required for day-to-day use. Here they will be fumigated, cleaned, catalogued and shelved. Quite as important, they will be serviced by the staff of the Public Archives, and will be made available whenever required either by departmental officials or by scholars entitled to have access to them. I should like to place particular emphasis upon this point, because some people have misunderstood the nature and function of the new Records Building. It will not be a dead storage centre, where papers will lie in dismal piles or moulder in dusty boxes, beyond the reach of the historian. The plan includes adequate search rooms and all necessary research facilities. Inevitably it will take some time to sort and file the great quantities of old records which will come to us, some of them in a state of great disorder, from basements and attics all over Ottawa. But the objective of the Public Archives is and always has been a fully-serviced records centre, which can play its part in both a records management programme and an orderly Archives programme for the Government of Canada.

Some idea of the physical extent of the public records problem, and of the new Records Building may be of interest. A survey completed in the summer of 1952 indicated that the records then in the custody of the various departments of the Government occupied about 458,000 square feet of floor space, or about ten and a half acres. Approximately half of these, occupying about five acres, were classified as "dead" or "dormant" from the point of view of the department. Many of the latter would have been screened out and destroyed long ago if sorting facilities had been available. Certainly only a fraction of the total will be found to have any long-term or archival value when they are transferred to Tunney's Pasture and examined there. This being so, it appeared that working space and stackroom space totalling about four acres should make the new Records Building adequate for a considerable time to come, and that is the scale upon which it has been planned. Lest you should think that we have been too modest in our estimate, I hasten to add that the stackroom space provided will be the largest in Canada.

I have been asked why a separate Records Building is being erected, instead of an addition to the Public Archives Building on Sussex Street. This is a complicated question, and I can mention only two of the several factors involved. The first is a matter of dollars and cents. The cost of a building which would match the style of the Archives would be very much greater than the cost of one matching the new Bureau of Statistics. The second relates to the site. The Royal Canadian Mint, next door to the existing building, now covers the whole of the site available to it. Someday it will have to expand, and the only direction in which expansion will be practicable will be southward, upon the plot of land now occupied by the Archives. In the long-term view the Department of Public Works has therefore earmarked the Archives property for the Mint, and it is naturally reluctant to place any other new permanent structures upon it.

Careful thought has been given to the types of material which will be housed in each of the two buildings. We plan to retain in Sussex Street all pre-Confederation official records, and a number of key official files from the post-Confederation period, such as the records of the Governor General's Office and the Privy Council. All private papers and non-official material, including transcripts and microfilms from abroad, will also be retained. The Records Building will be devoted primarily to departmental files later in date than 1867. Experience suggests that this division will reduce to very small proportions the inconvenience to research workers which will result from having records in two buildings, some distance from one another.

I should like next to refer to the special effort being made by the Archives to acquire an adequate collection of records and private papers relating to the post-Confederation period. The years since Confederation are now of major interest to research workers, and unless the Archives acquires adequate collections, it will fail to serve scholars as effectively as it did formerly. The collection and preservation of documents must, indeed, be a continuous process if the needs of the present and the future are to be met properly.

Our efforts to collect key post-Confederation files have met with gratifying success. So far as official records are concerned, the most important transfers were made in 1950. In the course of that year the Privy Council Office and the Department of External Affairs sent to the Archives many of their own early documents, and many papers which were originally in the Governor-General's Office. Lack of space has made it necessary to limit accessions of departmental files to the most useful and important items offered, but the new Records Building should enable the Archives to acquire and screen all post-Confederation departmental records which are no longer required for day-to-day office use.

We have been equally fortunate with regard to private papers. In the last four years the Archives has received the papers of Sir John Abbott, Sir John Thompson, Sir Robert Borden and Mr. Arthur Meighen. Within the same period the portion of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's papers which remained in private hands was presented to the department; and the literary executors of Mr. Mackenzie King have let it be known that, in accordance with Mr. King's own wish, his very extensive files will eventually come to the Archives. The department is now in the very happy position of being able to announce that, with the exception of the R. B. Bennett Papers, which have been given to the University of New Brunswick Library, it seems assured of possession of the major portion of the papers of every prime minister of Canada since Confederation.

These important files have been supplemented by the papers of many other prominent Canadians, and persons connected in one way or another with the history and development of this country. Governors-General, Senators, Leaders of the Opposition, Cabinet Ministers, Chief Justices, High Commissioners, soldiers, farmers and business men are all included in the list. All these papers have come to the Archives by gift, and in sum total they represent a major contribution towards the task of adequately documenting the history of Canada during the last half century and more. There are still many interesting and important items we would like to add to the list, but the corner has been turned. For one thing, it is now fairly widely known that the Archives is definitely interested in important papers, no matter how recent in date they may be, and gifts are beginning to flow in of their own accord.

The last topic I have time to touch upon is the use of microfilm. I am well aware that few people like to use microfilm, but this is largely because they are usually faced with poor films and poor equipment. We have found by experience that the making of microfilms and the use of them is a complicated business; but we have also learned that the end result can be highly satisfactory. Documents must be arranged and catalogued with great care before they are microfilmed; the photography must be first-rate in quality; and the film must be viewed on a good reader. More and more of our films are meeting these standards, and of late more than one scholar has gone so far as to volunteer the opinion that our film copies were easier to use than the original documents, and could be consulted with little or no eye strain.

Microfilming has now almost entirely replaced hand copying in the London and Paris branches of the Public Archives. Thanks to the courtesy and cooperation of the officials in the Public Record Office we now have a camera of our own operating there, and we hope to complete arrangements for the installation of a second camera before long. Our objective in London is nothing less than a complete facsimile of all the major files in the Record Office that relate to Canada. This may seem to be an ambitious plan, but it can be carried out within a relatively brief period, and, considering the magnitude of the end in view, at very reasonable cost. Twice within our lifetime the contents of the Record Office have been in grave danger, and our films will offer a safeguard against the irreparable loss which would result from damage to or destruction of the original papers. Incidentally, every click of our camera serves this same purpose for the Public Record Office itself, as well as for ourselves.

At the moment the camera is engaged in photographing series C.O. 42, which from our point of view is probably the most important single file in the Record Office. Most of the documents in it are included in the well-known "Q" series of transcripts, and it may be well to explain why these papers are being copied a second time. The transcripts were made many years ago, and the copyists were not permitted to transcribe anything except the actual text of the documents. The marginal notes and comments added by Colonial Office staff and officials, which are frequently invaluable to scholars, had therefore to be omitted. These notes should be available to scholars in Canada, and the microfilm version will bring to this country an important body of new material. Moreover, the "Q" series extends only to 1841, whereas series C.O. 42 continues on well into the present century. Our present intention is to photograph the series immediately as far as 1867, thereby making available in Canada for the first time facsimiles of the 185 volumes of papers relating to the years 1841 to 1866. Later we shall photograph a further 230 volumes, covering the period 1867 to 1902.

It is sometimes possible to borrow papers of Canadian interest, and several important collections have been taken to the Public Record Office and microfilmed there. For example, the National Library of Scotland very kindly sent the Edward Ellice Papers to London for filming, and by so doing enabled us to acquire facsimiles of this most interesting collection. A number of church and missionary societies, including the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, have assisted us in a similar way.

In Paris the story is substantially the same, except that the filming must be done by the commercial concern which controls microfilming in the Archives Nationales. The Ministry which controls the Archives des Colonies has extended very special and unusual privileges to us, and we are securing complete facsimiles of the most important papers relating to New France. Several parts of the great "C" series have already been photographed, and work on the "B" series is progressing steadily.

Mention should also be made of the microfilming of the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, in London. This great project was

undertaken jointly by the Company and the Public Archives in accordance with an agreement concluded between us in October, 1950. Over 650 reels of film, consisting of facsimiles of over 450,000 pages, have already been received in Ottawa. The microfilming should be completed within the next year, and by the end of 1954 the Archives should have in its possession copies of the entire surviving papers of the Company for the two centuries from 1670 to 1870. These papers contain material of great importance to research workers in many fields, and Canadian scholars are greatly indebted to the Hudson's Bay Company for its generosity in allowing the Public Archives to secure a positive copy of its films.

In Ottawa microfilming is used for a considerable variety of purposes. Many of the key files in the Archives — the "G" series, for example — are being microfilmed as a precautionary measure. Important papers are sometimes given to us on condition that they are microfilmed, and a print made available to some person or institution. Thus a positive microfilm of the Laurier Papers will go to Queen's University when this collection is photographed. Then again, the camera is frequently used to microfilm papers which we can borrow, but which we cannot hope to acquire. The Dafoe Papers are in Ottawa at this moment on loan, and are being photographed. Incidentally Mr. Victor Sifton, who very kindly made the Dafoe Papers available to us, will receive a print of the film, and this print will enable him to make the text of the collection available to students in Winnipeg without wear and tear to the original documents.

I have been asked a number of times whether the Archives proposes to sell copies of its microfilms of important collections. This may appear to be a simple matter of policy, but in actual fact it is a highly complex question, involving all sorts of unexpected factors. To cite two of these, by way of example: All microfilms made in the Public Record Office in London are subject to a Crown Copyright; conditions are frequently attached to gifts of papers received by the Archives. One must never lose sight of the basic fact that the role of an archivist is essentially that of a trustee. More than once I have been given papers by people who knew nothing about their contents and were obviously quite ignorant of their implications. They simply trusted me to do the right thing by them and their documents, and the complete loss of control over material which the sale of microfilm copies entails makes the exercise of such a trusteeship impossible. The answer lies, I think, in the creation of a loan collection of positive prints which can be made available to any scholar anywhere in the country, provided he is prepared to observe any regulations which may govern the use of the original documents or the master microfilms in Ottawa.

And now I must stop. I should have liked to say something about the use which is being made of microfilm in the Government service; I suspect that you would find the scale upon which it is being employed a little staggering. When I left Ottawa one project under consideration was expected to run to 125,000,000 exposures. I should have liked to say something about the Public Records Com-

mittee, upon which the Canadian Historical Association is represented by two members, and which controls both microfilming and the destruction of Government records which are found to be of no archival value. And I should like to emphasize once again that I have really talked about only one Division of the Public Archives. Nothing has been said about the Map Division, which has doubled in size in the last few years, and now possesses what we believe to be the best study collection of 16th century maps on this continent relating to Canada. The Picture Division has likewise been passed over in silence. But I trust that enough has been said to suggest that the federal archival scene is a lively one, full of activity and of future promise for the Canadian historian.

DISCUSSION

THE PRESIDENT outlined the functions of the Public Records Committee and the work of the Association's representatives on the Committee, Mr. Brown and M. Lefebvre. MR. SOWARD paid tribute to Dr. Lamb's co-operation with historical research workers. The problem of British ownership of many documents now in Canadian institutions and the hardship following from a United Kingdom ruling refusing access to documents later than 1902 were discussed. It was hoped that something might be done in this connection and that Canada would continue the wiser policy of avoiding such specific "cut off" dates. MR. PRESTON pointed out that neither Dr. Lamb nor Dr. Ireland had touched upon the subject of municipal records, which were preserved (in Ontario for instance) by provincial ruling. Yet these records were often in poor condition. He cited those of the city of Kingston. Local historical societies might be encouraged to go into the question. MR. WAITE instanced the destruction of forty-five years of files by a newspaper, without prior consultation with any historical body, and felt that this class of source material should be preserved. The discussion ended with a motion by MR. LOWER seconded by MR. TALMAN that the Association set up an Archives Committee. A temporary committee was named under the chairmanship of Mr. Spragge.

THE PROVINCIAL ARCHIVAL SCENE

Willard E. Ireland

Archives of British Columbia

I

Nearly a decade has passed since the Canadian Historical Association last discussed, formally and at any length, the problem of public and historical records preservation in Canada¹. The stimulus for that occasion had been provided by the publication in the March, 1944 issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* of a statement on the general archival situation prepared by Dr. George W. Brown. Let me recall the main theme of his analysis:

The problem of public and historical records in Canada is a pressing one, but it is one of those pressing problems which can be disregarded — even when persistent neglect becomes a detriment to the national interest. While it is true that there are encouraging exceptions in certain provinces, the general situation with regard to historical records in Canada is a lamentable, and even disgraceful, one . . . the writer is prepared to stand by his general statement that the situation as a whole is deplorable, that in some respects it is scandalous, and that it is contrary to the public interest, since history as Howe so eloquently made clear, must be allowed to play its part if we have any sound conception of the national development.²

The time is, perhaps, now opportune for another quick survey of the provincial archival scene, particularly since, on the national level, the subject fell within the purview of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences³ and resulted in some definite recommendations. Several of these specifically interest and involve the provincial counterparts of the Public Archives of Canada. Moreover, in the intervening years there have been developments in the provincial level that are significant. Unfortunately it cannot yet be claimed that the strictures made in 1944 are no longer valid. It can be held, however, that the "encouraging exceptions in certain provinces" noted a decade ago have been extended and strengthened and that thereby the situation has been improved to a considerable degree.

Before going on to a brief survey of recent developments in the various provinces, it must be pointed out that definite information is not easily procured. Judging by the absence of printed annual reports provincial archivists have been highly unsuccessful in securing due recognition of their work. Two exceptions, however, must be

¹"The Discussion of the Problem of Public and Historical Records in Canada," (*Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Association*, 1944) 40-45.

²George W. Brown, "The Problem of Public and Historical Records in Canada," (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXV, March, 1944) 1.

³*Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences*, 1949-1951, (Ottawa, 1951), 111-112, 335-345. Unfortunately the special study prepared by G. P. Stacey, "Canadian Archives," in *Royal Commission Studies: A selection of essays prepared for the Royal Commission of National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences*, (Ottawa, 1951), 231-248 dealt only with the federal and not with the provincial archival scene.

noted, those of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Quebec. The fact that only one article descriptive either of the holdings or the functions of a provincial archives has been published since 1944 (and that appeared as recently as this year) is perhaps symptomatic of the archives problem generally. How can public support be enlisted for any expanded archival programme when the general public, to say nothing of the specialist, is kept in a state of ignorance, not only about archival operations and problems, but almost about the very existence of these institutions?

II

Now for a quick survey of recent developments province by province.⁴

NEWFOUNDLAND

At the moment the preservation and care of Newfoundland archives are the responsibility of the Department of Provincial Affairs. They consist wholly of state and official documents publications, etc., and do not embrace private papers. No microfilming of records has yet been undertaken although the matter is under consideration. There is no designated provincial archivist.

By statute, in 1951, a "Board of Trustees of Public Records of Newfoundland" was created, originally with five but now with twelve trustees nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The definition of "public record" is extremely broad and includes "all books, papers, records, documents, structures, erections, monuments, objects, materials, articles or things of historic, artistic, scientific, or traditional interest". It will be seen that it is thereby empowered to fulfill many of the functions more normally assigned to a museum or to an Historic Sites Commission. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may transfer to the custody of the Board any public record.⁵ Since this Board is only now getting down to work no reports of its activities are as yet available.

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

No formal provision exists for the maintenance of a provincial archives although there has been an effort made to preserve a good deal of the material housed in the Provincial Building in Charlottetown. Under the supervision of the Director of Prince Edward Island Libraries there is a position designated as "assistant archivist."

NOVA SCOTIA

As early as 1857, by the appointment of a Records Commission and of a Records Commissioner, Nova Scotia recognized the necessity

⁴The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy of provincial archivists and those responsible for the preservation of archival material in providing information on the situation in their respective provinces. On points of fact it is hoped that a fair presentation has been made, on matters of opinion the writer hastens to exonerate his *confrères* from responsibility.

⁵Newfoundland *Statutes*, 1951, c. 68, "Public Records Act, 1951."

of preserving its public records. The Public Archives of Nova Scotia was established by statute in 1929 with the administration vested in a Board of Trustees. Through private beneficence a building was provided which is now supported by public funds. The institution has the active cooperation of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. The Archives is not confined solely to the preservation of public records of government but does acquire records of general historic significance and has museum as well as library functions to perform. Micro-photography of early newspapers and of older documentary material is now being undertaken. While the emphasis may be said to fall within the pre-Confederation period the problem of the transfer of non-current government records is ever-present. Personnel and space are also major problems.

NEW BRUNSWICK

At the present time there does not appear to be any organized Archives in New Brunswick nor any provision for the transfer of non-active government records. By the terms of the "New Brunswick Museum Act" it would appear that the Museum at Saint John has permission to become the Archives of the province. It has acquired, particularly through the Library of the New Brunswick Historical Society, much material that might be construed as being more of archival than of museum interest. The Library of the University of New Brunswick maintains an Archives Branch which is attempting to preserve material relating to the province as a whole and not solely the university, but it has no trained archivist in charge. A recent survey of *Library Service in New Brunswick* recommended that "An Archives Division of the Legislative Library be established under the direction of a competent archivist." In dealing with this problem generally the survey offered the following comment:

An Archives Division of the Legislative Library might profitably be established. Under a competent person this division could not only arrange and make available for use the vast quantities of documents and archival material in the Library but could study the holdings of the Universities and the Museum and develop a co-ordinated program of acquisition. The lack of such a program not only makes it difficult to locate books or documents but allows much material of historical value to be lost or sent out of the Province.⁶

QUEBEC

Le Bureau des Archives de la province de Québec was established in 1920 under the jurisdiction of the Provincial Secretary and since 1931 has been housed in the Provincial Museum.⁷ The wealth of material contained in this collection need not here be described, for through the annual *Rapport de l'Archiviste, le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, and its *Inventaires*, much has been done to organize and publicize its holdings, which provide the nation with some of its oldest and most precious records. Within certain chronological limits it is

⁶Peter Grossman, *Library Service in New Brunswick: a report and recommendations*, (Fredericton, 1953), 32.

⁷Antoine Roy, "Le Bureau des Archives de la Province de Québec," (*Culture*, II, mars, 1941) 77-80.

beyond doubt one of the best organized archives in the country. It has not confined its activity solely to official records but has also acquired private papers and inventories of the material held by other institutions within the province. It also embraces an excellent library including not only printed material, but also maps, paintings, and photographs of great historical significance. It perhaps would not be unfair to state that the emphasis has been along genealogical and antiquarian lines and the writer is not in a position to say how adequately provision has been made for the preservation and acquisition of post-Ancien Régime and post-Confederation documents.

ONTARIO

The Ontario Bureau of Archives was established in 1903 and elevated to the rank of a department in 1923. For purposes of administration it was placed under the Minister of Education in 1935. It is now housed in a new building on Queen's Park provided through the cooperation of a public-spirited private donor and the provincial government. The Archives, under its act, has a dual responsibility both for preserving and cataloguing records of government "within twenty years from the date on which they cease to be in current use"⁸ and for collecting all documents bearing upon the political and social history of Ontario. At present, the policy is to stress the use of the Archives as a Government Record Office, while still continuing to seek historical manuscript collections. Several important manuscripts have been acquired recently from the University of Toronto Library. Many government departments have been co-operative in the transfer of their records. It has recently been decided to follow the practice of the Public Archives of Canada, in producing inventories of collections, rather than calendars, thus making a knowledge of holdings available to students much more quickly. The acquisition of printed material is restricted to those items which it is thought would be of use to those doing research on the history of Ontario. The Archives have both a photostat and microfilm camera, and a laminator for the repair and preservation of documents. A recent interesting undertaking has been the circulation of exhibits of manuscripts through the secondary schools of the province.

MANITOBA

The development of a provincial archives is relatively new in Manitoba. For years the brunt of the responsibility for the preservation of the historical records of the province was assumed by the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, which with meagre funds and no permanent staff did yeoman service. Acquisitions over the years became a part of the Legislative Library, or more correctly, of the Librarian's office. For years this official had evinced a keen interest in and a wise awareness of the need for action that was until recently frustrated by the absence of tangible government support. In 1947 an archivist was appointed on a part-time basis, and steps were taken

⁸D. F. McQuat, "Our Provincial Archives," (*Ontario History*, XLV, Winter, 1953) 31-36.

to cope with current acquisition. In July 1952 a full-time archivist was appointed, and for the first time there is now emerging a unified collection. It is hoped that the Legislative Library Act will shortly be amended to provide for the establishment of an Archives Branch with the necessary correlation of its activities with the Library and historical societies. Under the circumstances at the moment cataloguing of this material is only getting under way. Limited attempts have been made to deal with the problem of public records, and legislation is projected which will make it possible to establish a programme of public records administration with provision for schedules for the retention and disposal of departmental records. As might be expected problems of staff and space are serious considerations. At present the programme does not include municipal, court or school district records, although their significance is recognized. Equipment for microphotography has been secured and the filming programme will include not only newspapers, but also departmental records.

SASKATCHEWAN

No other province has achieved as much in so short a period of time as has the Saskatchewan Archives, which was only established by provincial legislation in 1945. The Act, which is an excellent one, provides for a Saskatchewan Archives Board with government and university representation thereon. The Act also provides for the transfer of departmental records to the Archives. This procedure has operated to the satisfaction of all parties concerned. As this survey must be limited those wishing more detail should refer to the *Reports of the Saskatchewan Archives*, the fifth of which, covering the years 1950-52, is now available. Owing to the fact that Saskatchewan, as a province, is of relatively recent origin, the problem of the bulk of documentation is not as serious as that faced by other provinces. In common with the other prairie provinces, however, there is the added complication that much of the early documentation is held by federal departments of government. An active policy of acquisition of non-government material has been embarked upon and microphotography is being utilized to the full. Nor is the collection confined only to documentary material; newspapers, books and photographs are also being acquired. Local circumstances dictated a division of depositories between Regina and Saskatoon which to many might appear to be unsatisfactory, but which, in practice, has worked out satisfactorily. One of its major accomplishments has been the publication since 1948 of *Saskatchewan History*.

ALBERTA

Although Alberta has a regularly constituted "Bureau of Archives" to preserve "all that may still be had of the early records and unwritten history of this section of Canada, as well as to preserve all records of current history in the Province," it must, unfortunately, be reported that little progress has been made in the organization of an effective institution. Hampered by the lack of an appropriation, no staff has been provided to undertake the necessary work of col-

lecting and organizing an Archives nor does there appear to be any clearly defined policy of acquisition either by way of transfer of departmental records or of private papers. There is, however, the nucleus of a collection which if given adequate financial support and qualified personnel might eventually evolve into a true provincial archives.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

The archives of British Columbia dates from the reorganization of the Legislative Library in 1893, although the institution was not given official recognition until 1908, and even today operates without benefit of an Act.⁹ It is however well established and has for years received substantial financial support making possible the employment of an adequate trained staff. In addition to documentary records, it possesses one of the finest libraries of Northwest Americana on the continent and an extensive photographic collection. Its policy of acquisition is broad, including private papers, for the purchase of which adequate funds are available. Its holding of official records of the colonial period is excellent, and latterly more attention has been given to the matter of provincial public records. The "Public Documents Disposal Act," which provides for an obligatory ten year period of retention, has been strengthened by recent amendments which give the Provincial Archivist considerable power in the matter of transfer to the Archives or outright destruction. Further amendments are now under consideration. In 1951 the Provincial Archivist was charged with the responsibility of instituting a Central Microfilm Bureau which has complete charge of microphotography of all departmental records. Its activity necessarily involves the filming of current records which by virtue of bulk and use present immediate storage problems, as well as the filming of records of more permanent historical significance. The activity of this Bureau is closely integrated with the role of the Archives as a Public Record office. In addition to its publication of the *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* in cooperation with the British Columbia Historical Association, the Archives has its own *Memoir Series*. Recently it has embarked upon the preparation of the *British Columbia Heritage Series* for the Department of Education. Two series are underway, "Our Native Peoples" and "Our Pioneers". Designed as informational aids to the teachers these printed brochures are illustrated and are accompanied by filmstrips based on material in the Archives for class-room use.

III

A few comments arising from this general and necessarily fragmentary survey may be in order. It is perfectly patent that the provincial archives are at various levels of advancement and that the interpretation given the word "archives" and consequently the function of the institution, shows considerable variation. Some are striving to

⁹W. E. Ireland, "The Provincial Archives of British Columbia," (*Culture*, II, mars, 1941) 80-81.

achieve the status of a Public Records Office purely and simply; others are seeking to become depositories of historical data in the broadest sense of the term. Some are striving to cope with the increasingly serious problem of non-current government records at the provincial level; only a few are trying to bear in mind the equally important and pressing problem of records at the municipal level. Despite variations in achievement the writer feels that there is now more reason for optimism in the provincial scene than there was a decade ago.

It cannot, however, be too strongly urged that all archives are faced with tremendous difficulties in the matter of adequate physical accommodation, and that most are seriously in need of additional trained personnel. While microphotography is not the complete nor perfect answer to the first problem, it is, however, being used with discretion and efficacy in many institutions. In the matter of personnel the report of the Massey Commission at least hinted at the possibility of the Public Archives of Canada assisting in this respect. If that institution can give assistance in training personnel in archival procedures and techniques further advances can be anticipated. At the moment the training given by the American University at Washington, D. C., is the only professional course available on this continent. Valuable as it is, it does not wholly meet Canadian needs. In the first place it is primarily concerned with problems of record management which are not entirely similar to those to be found in the Canadian provinces; and in the second place it does not take into consideration the fact that, by and large, we in Canada do not have the long-established and well-supported State Historical Societies, distinct from State Archives, to identify and husband source material for State history.

In the main it can be said that the relationship between the various provincial archives and with the Public Archives of Canada is a happy one. There necessarily is, and presumably always will be an area of overlapping interests, since provincial political figures have the habit of becoming national figures, and occasionally *vice versa*. It is doubtful if any serious rivalry in acquisition exists, and in any event microphotography provides an answer. If the material is available in microfilm the place of deposit of the originals is a matter of lesser significance insofar as the scholar or research worker is concerned. At the moment a broader sharing of resources is the vogue, to the mutual advantage of all institutions. We are, however, desperately in need of more information about the existing holdings of institutions, and also as to the whereabouts of material still in private hands. The suggestion that a national survey of historic records be carried out is a most promising one. The provincial scene will, in all probability, profit by any development on the national level and any device likely to foster the one will strengthen the other. It is conceivable that a full-scale round table conference of provincial archives and the Public Archives of Canada to discuss not so much policies of acquisition but of techniques of administration would be most useful. In this way some degree of uniformity of standards in such matters as catalogues, inventories, calendars, indexes, and the like, might be achieved. Far from being discouraging, the provincial scene, is to use a trite expression, challenging.

DISCUSSION

MR. SPRAGGE indicated that the situation of the Ontario Archives was somewhat improved beyond the condition indicated in the paper. The new building (shared by the Art Gallery of the Royal Ontario Museum), the microfilming camera and readers, the laminator and photostat equipment were all positive gains. The laminator, he believed, was the only one available in any archives in Canada. There was an embarrassment of riches in the bulk of material from government departments and from the University of Toronto. The procedure for transferring government documents to the Archives was still under study, but was increasingly satisfactory. There was still a shortage of trained staff, and the problem of space for expansion of storage facilities had not been solved. MR. FERGUSON had little fault to find with the account of the Nova Scotia Archives presented in the papers. The Archives included a museum and art gallery and extensive collections of newspapers and maps. Two series of publications were issued and both had reached nine issues. A new scheme for microfilming deteriorating newspapers was being launched. MR. SAGE felt that help might be given in two or three of the cases mentioned in the paper. Newfoundland had a big problem and much could be done in New Brunswick. Alberta hardly required any financial assistance. He thought that there should be a general "get-together" of archives people under the sponsorship of the Canadian Historical Association. MESSRS. ROTHNEY and WAITE gave a brief account of Newfoundland's resources in archival material and pointed out that Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick had alternative institutions which served as repositories of material in the absence of formal archives. MR. STANLEY referred to the work of the late Dr. J. C. Webster in collecting documentary and historical material relating to New Brunswick which is now housed in the New Brunswick Museum at Saint John. MESSRS. LOWER and TALMAN discussed the problem of policy in dealing with both official and private papers. Canada appeared to have something of both the American and British usages, but there was no single uniform policy followed by the Canadian provinces.

THE ROLE OF OVERSEAS COLONIES IN THE EUROPEAN POWER BALANCE

1793-1815

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During those long years of inconclusive warfare between 1793 and 1815, both Great Britain and France sought on several occasions to end their fight to reach a mutually satisfactory peace settlement. The issues which the plenipotentiaries and delegations attempted to resolve were as varied and complex as only those of a world-wide struggle between opposing international power groups can be. Through all the kaleidoscopic changes of ideological warfare, competing national aspirations and economic rivalries, one theme, however, stands out with extraordinary consistency, the attempt to reach a balance of power between England and France. It was the key to peace in a world at war. The central issue of Anglo-French diplomacy was the relating of French ascendancy in Europe with British supremacy beyond Europe. In terms of crude bartering, it meant equating British concessions in overseas colonies for French concessions in Europe.

The first occasion on which the two nations came directly to grips over this problem after the outbreak of war in 1793 was at peace negotiations in Paris in the late autumn of 1796. Considerable doubt has been cast on the sincerity of both participating governments, especially in view of the failure of either side to achieve a really decisive military decision in Europe or overseas. Nonetheless, the British sought a return to the *status quo ante bellum*. They tried to induce the French to accept restitution of their overseas losses in exchange for the relinquishment of their Continental conquests. It was "His Majesty's intention," wrote Lord Grenville, the Foreign Secretary, to his plenipotentiary, Lord Malmesbury, "of employing the effects of his successes during this war in compensating France for restitution of such of her conquests on the continent as may be necessary to satisfy the claims of His Majesty's allies and to preserve the political balance of Europe."¹ The central issue, of course, was the Austrian Netherlands. Belgium, too important strategically and economically for Britain to see pass unopposed into French hands, was, in fact, occupied by the French armies. An exultant French nationalism seeking its natural boundary on the Rhine could regard this British *sine qua non*, restitution of the Belgian territory, only as "*cette condition déshonorante*." When, therefore, Malmesbury received orders to quit Paris within forty-eight hours, he merely remarked that it was a rather "sudden tho' not unlooked for close to my mission."² The first British attempt to

¹Public Record Office, F.O. 27/46, Grenville to Malmesbury, no. 11, December 11, 1796.

²*Ibid.*, F.O. 29/46, Malmesbury to Grenville, no. 30, December 20, 1796.

limit Continental France by equating it to *France outre-mer* was a signal failure.

Six months later, during the summer of 1797, France and Britain again sought to reach a peace settlement. The Austrian recognition of the French conquest of Belgium by the armistice of Leoben in one sense resolved the principal source of dispute between France and England by removing this whole question from the range of subjects for discussion. At the same time British domestic, economic and naval difficulties brought the country to the nadir of its fortunes in the generation long conflict with France. Moreover the withdrawal of Austria meant the loss of the ally who had borne the main burden of the conflict.

Despite such an unpromising situation, Grenville instructed Malmesbury to lay stress on the fact that Britain had suffered no losses in her war with France, but on the contrary had made sizeable and important conquests at the expense of the latter. For the sake of peace, Britain would be willing to restore all these colonial conquests. But, since French conquests had enormously strengthened the power of that country in Europe, and the possession of Holland and Spain as satellites had augmented the naval power at her disposal, Britain must be expected to retain some of her colonial conquests at the expense of Holland and Spain as compensation, however inadequate, for acknowledging the gains made by France.³

The coup d'état of Fructidor blasted all hopes of peace. With the French position seemingly so secure in Europe, the new Directory refused to accept the British terms of peace, even though the price would be paid not by France but by its satellites. Despite the embarrassment of the situation, the British government would not and could not safely make the double sacrifice of recognizing French expansion in Europe and at the same time fail to secure some colonial *quid pro quo*.

After four more years of war, i.e. in 1801, peace was made between Great Britain and France on almost the same terms as those which had failed in 1797. By this date both countries had, in general, consolidated their respective positions in Europe and overseas, and their domestic political establishments seemed more stable than earlier.

In exchange for recognizing French acquisition of Belgium and the Rhine frontier, of Nice and Savoy, and effective control of most of Italy, Holland, Spain and the implication of their overseas empires, Britain acquired Ceylon and Trinidad and right of access to the Cape of Good Hope.

Even by modern standards this would be considered a rather poor exchange in diplomatic power politics, but by eighteenth century standards the disparity seemed far greater. It must be noted, however, that the possession of Ceylon assured a strategic advantage in the Indian Ocean and the Coromandel Coast which confirmed the ascendancy on the sub-continent won in battle during the war. Trinidad was also considered an equivalent for French acquisition of the Spanish part of San Domingo.

In part, no doubt, the willingness of the British government to accept so unbalanced a peace was due to the wishes of the new Addington-

³*Ibid.*, F.O. 27/49, Grenville to Malmesbury no. 1, June 29, 1797.

ton administration. In part, it was due to the fact that nearly a decade of war had achieved no more than the defeat of Britain's allies, and the aggrandisement of the enemy. The desire to "try the experiment of the peace" was widespread. Most of all it was due to Bonaparte's conquest of Egypt. This gave the French a bargaining counter of tremendous importance, enabling them to exact colonial concessions from the British for its abandonment, while at the same time keeping their European position outside of the range of effective British bargaining. Contemporary French opinion may have overrated the potential value of Egypt as a colony, but its vital importance in Eastern strategy was nearly as important then as it is to-day. The British were as keen to get the French out of it as the French were anxious to stay. When finally compelled by British intransigence to forego their new conquest the French exacted a very heavy price; but it was a price which the British were prepared to pay.

Fighting did not cease with the opening of peace pourparlers in London. On March 8, 1801, after negotiations had begun, British infantry stormed ashore in the face of heavy enemy fire at Aboukir Bay and began the campaign for Egypt. Troops were also gathered from Ceylon and India for a campaign from the Red Sea — the first enterprise for the Eastern part of the Empire in the Suez region which has played so large a role in British overseas engagements. Hawkesbury therefore carried on the negotiations with the understanding given to the French that "in the event of authentic intelligence being received previously to the signature of preliminaries of the evacuation of Egypt by the French forces, or a convention having been agreed to for that purpose, His Majesty will not adhere to the conditions . . . in their full extent."⁴

Doubtful of the outcome of the Egyptian campaign Hawkesbury yielded ground to Otto all during the summer of 1801 in order to secure by diplomacy a point which in fact was being won in battle. He relinquished the claims to Malta, Berbice, Demarara, Essequillo, Tobago and Martinique, which the British Government had originally demanded, in addition to Ceylon and Trinidad, as the price of peace. With a keener perception of the military prospects in Egypt, Bonaparte conjectured that Alexandria could not hold out past the third week of September, 1801. Anxious to capitalize on British concern about Egypt, the First Consul issued instructions to Otto on September 17 that the British must sign peace by October 2, or expect war. On October 1, still with no word on the fate of the Egyptian expedition, Hawkesbury signed the Preliminaries of London with Otto. "Les ordres du Premier Consul sont remplis; les preliminaires ont été signes . . ." wrote the French plenipotentiary to his chief in Paris.⁵

Eight hours later a courier arrived from Constantinople with dispatches from Egypt and the news that the last French garrison had surrendered to the British forces on August 27 preceding.⁶ The under-secretary of state, Lord Jersey, informed Otto of the arrival of the

⁴Archives Etrangères, Angleterre, volume 594, Otto to Talleyrand" memorandum, 22 Germinal An 9.

⁵*Ibid.*, volume 596, Otto to Talleyrand, le 9 Vendémiaire An 10.

⁶*Ibid.*, volume 596, Otto to Talleyrand, le 10 Vandémiaire An 10.

Egyptian dispatches and said that had the news arrived the previous morning the terms of peace would not have been agreed upon.⁷

Nevertheless, an armistice had been made, and the wild scenes of rejoicing both in England and France proved how deep and heartfelt was the popular desire for peace on both sides of the Channel. Despite a determined and sustained diplomatic offensive on the part of the French to secure more favourable colonial terms in the negotiations at Amiens, (an attempt which nearly wrecked the frail fabric of peace) a definite treaty was eventually signed and ratified. The terms of the Peace at Amiens were essentially those reached in the Preliminaries of London.

Bonapart's influence, so great and decisive on the revolution in France and on the French position in Europe, was equally great in the overseas conflict with Britain. His conquest of Egypt had not only shown that France did not accept the verdict of British colonial triumph. It had also opened up a whole new realm of conflict in the Mediterranean Sea.

The whole of the negotiations for the Peace of Amiens and the uneasy year of peace which followed it were dominated by the fact that Bonaparte was ardently espousing the traditional colonial policies of France in America, Africa and Asia, and pressing the newer schemes in the Mediterranean. Little wonder that Britain resisted such a revival of French colonial pretensions when the exigencies of the moment compelled her tacitly to recognize in Europe the French settlement so unfavourable to British interests and the balance of power. The French assumed that Britain could accept this exclusion from European concerns and at the same time recognize an uneasy and unstable equilibrium in colonial affairs in the face of continued French expansion both in Europe and overseas. Such a conclusion was mistaken. Yet this was precisely what Bonaparte tried to impose upon the British Empire.

The signposts along the road to war were marked by forward French actions in San Domingo, Valais, Helvetian and Batavian Republic, Piedmont, Parma, Elba, by the threat of occupying Algeria, and by the continued interest in Egypt and the Near East so dramatically publicized in the famous Sebastiani Report. When the French consolidated their European position and pressed their colonial aims, the British began to look to their colonial "equivalents". The only satisfactory equivalent for England was Malta, which stood squarely in the way of a forward colonial policy in the Mediterranean. In this way all the European colonial issues between France and England became focussed on the small Mediterranean island.

By the terms of the Treaty, the British garrison was to be evacuated, but every French action indicated to British eyes the danger of such a proceeding. "Whatever may be the resolution of the First Consul," wrote the British Ambassador in Paris, Lord Whitworth, to the Foreign Secretary, "we may be sure that his views on Egypt will not be abandoned. All his feelings are engaged in that object; . . . I do not hesitate to declare to your Lordship my most perfect conviction, that from the moment that His Majesty's troops are withdrawn [from Malta] we can no longer depend on the preservation of peace on any

⁷*Ibid.*

terms with this country, supposing that the occupation of Egypt by France is to be resisted . . . These reflections . . . will certainly go very far to justify an assertion however paradoxical it may appear, that the continuance of peace does not depend upon our fulfilling, under the present circumstances, the Treaty of Amiens, but on keeping in our hands those possessions, the immediate reoccupation of which by the French would force us into a war under every disadvantage, and for the doing of which we have sufficient justification in the conduct of the First Consul from the moment of the conclusion of the treaty to this very day."⁸

Bonaparte, meanwhile, was privately assuring Whitworth that he would rather see the British in possession of the Faubourg St. Antoine than Malta, and publicly boasting that "the Government says, with conscious pride, that England alone cannot maintain the struggle against France."⁹ He therefore argued that any refusal to evacuate Malta would be a breach of faith on the part of Great Britain, that the terms of the Peace of Amiens had been freely negotiated and accepted by both nations. His was an appeal to the traditional British sense of honour. Whitworth's views here enunciated (and these were the views which prevailed in British government circles) were realistic rather than idealistic: the British evacuation of Malta would be swiftly followed by French occupation of both it and Egypt; this would mean a resumption of war on unfavourable conditions. It was not practical politics to yield to the enemy places which had been conquered with great difficulty and which could be retaken only by similar exertions. It was a sad dilemma for the British government. Evacuation of Malta would entail war. Retention of Malta would entail war.

In an official Note to Talleyrand Lord Hawkesbury stated the whole British case and the necessity of equating English power overseas to French power in Europe. "His Majesty," wrote the Foreign Secretary, "has entertained a most sincere desire that the Treaty of Amiens might be executed in a full and complete manner; but it has been impossible for him . . . ; if the interference of the French government in the general affairs of Europe since that period [i.e. the signing of peace]; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them at the time of the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace; if the acquisitions which have been made by France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of France, His Majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the Treaty of Peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as some counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France."¹⁰

The refusal of either side to yield on the issue of the evacuation of Malta in due course led to war. The Treaty of Amiens had failed to secure or maintain the precarious balance between the two powers. The "experiment of the peace" had failed. Britain could not face without

⁸Public Record Office, F.O. 27/67, Whitworth to Hawkesbury, no. 11, February, 1803.

⁹*Annual Register*, 1803, Chapter V, 67.

¹⁰Archives Étrangères, Angleterre, volume 600, Note from Hawkesbury to Andréossy, March 15, 1803.

fighting the expansion of France either in Europe or overseas. France refused to be shackled by any British limitations in the hey-day of her expansion.

Three years later the British and French again sought to reach a balance in their respective positions in the peace negotiations of the summer of 1806. Trafalgar had established British naval and colonial supremacy beyond reasonable prospect of serious challenges. Napoleon had crushed Austria and Russia in the lightning stroke of Austerlitz and once more bound the Hapsburg Empire in the Peace of Pressburg.

Charles James Fox, the new British Foreign Secretary in the Ministry of All the Talents, wrote to Talleyrand, the French Foreign Secretary, suggesting peace negotiations between France, Britain and Russia. Talleyrand offered to negotiate separately but rejected the idea of Britain negotiating in concert with Russia. He claimed that British naval power was greater than all the rest of the world combined, yet Britain would allow no encroachments upon this colonial and naval preponderance. France was equally the most powerful country in Europe and saw no reason why, if Britain arrogated to herself alone such naval and colonial hegemony, France should allow her to interfere in matters of continental concern.¹¹

This somewhat preemptory French reply in fact set the tone of the ensuing negotiations. There was little real prospect of agreement. Sicily, then occupied by British troops, served as the principal bone of contention in much the same fashion as had Malta at an earlier stage. Various proposals for British control of overseas colonies to compensate for French expansion on the Continent were made and all were rejected. Towards the end of the negotiations the French sought to give force to the terms of peace they offered by threatening, if they were not met, to take over Austria, Spain and Portugal. The British government merely pointed out that such action would not be a serious blow to England, and threatened in retaliation to take over the transatlantic possessions of Spain and Portugal, in other words, the whole continent of South America. Nowhere is the extraordinary whirling of Anglo-French power rivalry better illustrated than in this instance. Unable to get at each other, the "centrifugal" forces drove France more and more to the complete possession of the continent of Europe, while the "centripetal" forces drove England more and more to acquire the world beyond Europe.

Although other attempts to open negotiations between the two countries were made later, the negotiations at Paris in 1806 were the last detailed discussions until the final collapse of Napoleonic France. During the negotiations at Chatillon in the spring of 1814, the French tried to link their colonial cessions to England with their continental concessions to other powers. In exchange for yielding colonies, France wanted compensation in Europe. Such an aim was widely at variance with the existing military and naval situation and the facts of power. The British government flatly rejected it. Nevertheless, Britain did restore a considerable part of the French Empire, so wrote Lord Liver-

¹¹Public Record Office, F.O. 27/72, Talleyrand to Fox, le 1 avril, 1806.

pool, "for the sole purpose of improving the conditions of the continental peace."¹²

It would perhaps be presumptuous to claim that overseas colonies at that date in their development constituted for Britain a sufficient balance against the ascendancy which France acquired in Europe. Yet that was the ground on which colonial conquests were retained according to all the arguments of every British diplomatic servant who negotiated with the French during the long years of struggle. When the French position in Europe passed beyond the power of England to control or affect, such a development merely added weight to the British argument. This is amply illustrated in the final terms of peace actually reached at the end of the wars. French, Spanish and Dutch colonies held or claimed during the years of French continental ascendancy were returned without quibble when continental France was returned to her former limits and power. The colonial possessions which Britain retained, with several exceptions, after the Napoleonic wars were designed to strengthen the existing fabric of empire from a strategic point of view. The frantic search for British security could only be ended in Europe, where the main challenge arose. French defeat and restoration of the old power balance achieved this, and with it passed the necessity of trying to balance overseas colonies against European conquests.

¹²*Ibid.*, F.O. 37/66, Liverpool to Clancarty, January 21, 1814.

CONSTITUTION OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1. NAME

The Association shall be known in English as THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION and in French as LA SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE DU CANADA.

2. OBJECTS OF THE ASSOCIATION

- (a) To encourage historical research and public interest in history and more particularly in the history of Canada, both national and local.
- (b) To promote the preservation of historic sites and buildings, documents, relics and other significant heirlooms of the past.
- (c) To publish historical studies and documents as circumstances may permit.

3. MEMBERSHIP

- (a) The membership of the Association shall consist of four classes:
 - (i) Life members
 - (ii) Annual members
 - (iii) Student members
 - (iv) Affiliated societies and organizations.

4. DUES

The dues of the several classes of membership shall be determined by a general meeting of members as circumstances may require.

5. OFFICERS

(a) The Officers of the Association shall be an honorary president, a president, a vice president, an English language secretary, a French language secretary, a treasurer and an editor, each of whom shall be elected annually by a general meeting of the members of the Association.

(b) The Council of the Association shall consist of the officers for the time being, the two immediate past presidents, and twelve members of Council who shall hold office for three years. Four members of Council shall be elected each year by a general meeting of the members of the Association. No retiring member of Council shall be eligible for re-election in the year in which his term expires.

(c) The editor may be assisted by associate editors who shall be elected by a general meeting of the members of the Association. Associate editors may attend meetings of Council as required, but shall not be entitled to vote unless one of them be designated by the editor as his representative.

(d) The *Canadian Historical Review* and the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* may each be represented by a special delegate, selected by the editors of the *Review* and the *Bulletin*, who shall be entitled to vote.

6. MEETINGS

- (a) A general meeting of the Association shall be held annually at a time and place to be determined by the officers and council of the society.
- (b) The reports of the officers of the Association shall be presented at the annual general meeting. These reports or summaries thereof shall be published in the *Annual Report*.
- (c) Other general meetings may be held if and as required.
- (d) Meetings of the Council shall be held as required.
- (e) The proceedings of the meetings of the Association may be conducted in French or in English and shall be reported in the *Annual Report* in the language used.

7. *AMENDMENTS OF THE CONSTITUTION*

- (a) This constitution may be amended only by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at a general meeting of the Association.
- (b) Proposed amendments may be initiated either by the Council or by any five members of the Association, provided that in the latter case notice of the proposed amendment must reach either the English Language Secretary or the French Language Secretary at least thirty days before the annual general meeting of the Association.
- (c) Notice of proposed amendments shall be forwarded to all members of the Association at least two weeks before the general meeting.

STATUTS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE DU CANADA

1. DÉSIGNATION

Le nom officiel de la présente association est, en français: LA SOCIÉTÉ HISTORIQUE DU CANADA, et en anglais: THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

2. BUT

La Société vise à:

- (a) encourager la recherche historique et intéresser le public à l'histoire, plus spécialement à l'histoire du Canada, tant régionale que nationale;
- (b) favoriser la conservation des lieux et édifices d'intérêt historique, documents, reliques et autres souvenirs importants du passé;
- (c) publier des études et des documents d'ordre historique, dans la mesure du possible.

3. MEMBRES

Les membres de la Société se répartissent en quatre classes:

- (i) les membres à vie;
- (ii) les membres à l'année;
- (iii) les membres étudiants;
- (iv) les sociétés et autres organisations affiliées.

4. COTISATION

L'assemblée générale fixe la cotisation des différentes classes de membres, selon les circonstances.

5. ADMINISTRATION

(a) La direction de la Société comprend un président honoraire, un président, un vice-président, un secrétaire de langue anglaise, un secrétaire de langue française, un trésorier et un rédacteur, élus chaque année par l'assemblée générale.

(b) Le Conseil de la Société comprend les préposés à la direction pour l'année courante, les deux derniers présidents et douze membres. L'assemblée générale en élira quatre chaque année, qui resteront en fonction durant trois ans. Aucun membre du Conseil sortant de charge ne sera rééligible durant l'année où expire son mandat.

(c) Le rédacteur en chef est assisté de rédacteurs, élus à l'assemblée générale. Ceux-ci pourront, au besoin, prendre part aux réunions du Conseil; cependant n'aura droit de vote que celui qui aura été désigné par le rédacteur en chef pour le représenter en son absence.

(d) *The Canadian Historical Review* et le *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques* peuvent respectivement se faire représenter au Conseil par un délégué spécial, choisi par la Rédaction de la revue; il aura voix délibérative.

6. RÉUNIONS

- (a) Il se tient chaque année une assemblée générale aux temps et lieu déterminés par la Direction et le Conseil.
- (b) La Direction doit présenter à l'assemblée générale annuelle des comptes rendus qui seront publiés, sommairement ou intégralement, dans le *Rapport annuel*.
- (c) On peut convoquer au besoin d'autres assemblées générales.
- (d) Le Conseil se réunira aussi souvent qu'il sera nécessaire.
- (e) Dans les réunions, la langue des délibérations et des travaux peut être l'anglais ou le français, et le *Rapport annuel* reproduira ces délibérations et travaux dans la langue utilisée.

7. *MODIFICATIFS AUX STATUTS*

- (a) Seul un vote des deux-tiers des membres présents à une assemblée générale peut modifier les présents statuts.
- (b) Soit le Conseil, soit cinq membres quelconques de la Société peuvent proposer des modificatifs, pourvu que, dans le deuxième cas, un avis en parvienne soit au secrétaire de langue anglaise soit au secrétaire de langue française, au moins trente jours avant l'assemblée générale.
- (c) L'avis des modificatifs proposés doit parvenir à tous les membres de la Société au moins deux semaines avant l'assemblée générale.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS AND SITES, 1952-1953

BY THE NATIONAL PARKS AND HISTORIC SITES SERVICE, NATIONAL
PARKS BRANCH, DEPARTMENT OF RESOURCES
AND DEVELOPMENT

THE NATIONAL PARKS and Historic Sites Service is entrusted with the restoration, preservation and administration of national historic parks and sites, and the commemoration of the public services of outstanding persons in Canadian history. In this phase of its work the Service is advised by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, an honorary body of recognized historians, representing the various provinces of the Dominion.

The personnel of the Board is as follows: Chairman, Professor Fred Landon, London, Ontario; Professor D. C. Harvey, Halifax, Nova Scotia; the Honourable E. Fabre-Surveyer, Montreal, Quebec; the Reverend Antoine d'Eschambault, Genthon, Manitoba; Professor M. H. Long, Edmonton, Alberta; Dr. Walter N. Sage, Vancouver, British Columbia; the Honourable Thane A. Campbell, Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island; Dr. Wm. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Ontario; C. E. A. Jeffery, St. John's, Newfoundland; Dr. Alfred G. Bailey, Fredericton, New Brunswick; Campbell Innes, Battleford, Saskatchewan; Dr. F. J. Alcock, Ottawa, Ontario. C. G. Childe, National Parks and Historic Sites Services, Ottawa, Ontario, is Secretary to the Board.

The annual meeting of the Board was held in Ottawa, May 27-30, 1952, when a wide variety of matters relating to the background of Canada was reviewed. Of the many sites that have been considered by the Board to date, 459 have been marked or acquired and 183 others recommended for attention at a later date.

NATIONAL HISTORIC PARKS

Fort Anne National Historic Park is situated in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia. The museum building, restored in 1935, was originally the Officers' Quarters and was built in 1797-8 under the supervision of Edward, Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, when he was commander-in-chief of the British Forces in North America with headquarters at Halifax, Nova Scotia.

The east side and north end of the museum building and some of the interior woodwork was painted as well as the chain fences, cannon, cannon balls, park benches, flag pole, sentry box and wooden signs. A new furnace and twin circulating system were installed in the basement of the museum; new seats were made for the bandstand; an old well was filled in; the fence between the park property and the adjoining military cemetery was removed, and the iron fences around some of the graves were painted. The hedges and shrubbery were trimmed, improvement work was carried out on the driveway and paths, and all bronze tablets in the park were cleaned. A number of interesting exhibits were obtained for the museum.

A total of 20,558 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Port Royal National Historic Park is situated at Lower Granville, Nova Scotia. A replica of the group of buildings, which sheltered the first European settlers in Canada, has been erected on the exact site where the Port Royal Habitation stood nearly three and a half centuries ago. The original Habitation was the headquarters for about two years of Samuel de Champlain, famous explorer and chief geographer to Henry IV of France. Champlain chose the location and drew up the plan of settlement.

Preserving oil was applied to the shingle roof and to some of the buildings of the Habitation as well as to the new platform on which a cannon has been mounted. A new bridge was constructed at the entrance to the parking area, a flag pole was erected at the site of Scots Fort and repairs were made to the fence enclosing the park property. All ironwork in the buildings was cleaned and oiled, the storage tank was repaired and the lawns were rolled and trimmed.

Visitors registered at the park during the year numbered 15,168.

Fort Beauséjour National Historic Park is situated near Sackville, New Brunswick. Built by the French, the Fort was intended to be an Acadian stronghold against the undefined claims of the English to Acadia. Around the fort the Acadians had their homes and farms. It was captured by the British, under Monckton, in 1755, when the fort was strengthened and its defenses extended by a system of entrenchment, traces of which still remain.

A new heating system was installed in the basement of the museum and additional plumbing installed in the Ladies' restroom. The exterior woodwork of the museum building was painted as well as the pavilion, lodge, custodian's residence, garage, and the various signs throughout the park. The lawn near the museum was extended, flowers were planted, all bronze tablets on the grounds were cleaned, and the grass along the paths and around the parking area was trimmed.

A total of 23,249 persons signed the visitors book.

Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park is situated about three miles from the town of Louisbourg, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia. Here were enacted the early stages of the long struggle which culminated in the possession of Canada for the British Crown. Erected more than two centuries ago by the French, who had named the settlement in honour of Louis XIV, King of France, Louisbourg was captured by the British forces in 1745, but was subsequently handed back to the French. The fortress was again besieged by the English and finally captured by them in 1758. It is interesting to recall that one of the brigades of infantry engaged in the recapture of Louisburg was commanded by General Wolfe, who was later to die heroically at Quebec.

Restoration work was carried out on the remains of the Hospital and Citadel. A section of the breastwork near the main entrance was

repaired and additional rock and rubble hauled for fill. The main entrance road was levelled and graded and repairs were made to the Maurepas bridge. The restrooms and basement were painted as well as the flag pole and the exterior woodwork of the museum building. The culverts and septic tanks were cleaned, the fence enclosing the park property was repaired, the hay on the outer sections was cut, and the grass around the museum and residence was trimmed.

Visitors registered during the year numbered 19,080.

Fort Chambly National Historic Park is situated about twenty miles southeast of Montreal, on a conspicuous headland on the Richelieu River. The first fort, built by the French in 1665 as a protection against the Iroquois, was of wooden construction. After many vicissitudes, it was rebuilt of stone, this work being completed in 1711. In 1760 the fort was surrendered to the British, who, with a small armed force, held it until 1775. In that year the Americans captured the fort, which they evacuated in the following year. The fort, later repaired and garrisoned by Sir Guy Carleton, played an important part in the War of 1812.

Additional repointing was carried out on the old walls of the fort and on the retaining wall near the rapids; the roof of the main building was sprayed with shingle stain and a new casing was installed for the door leading to the dungeon. The interior and exterior of the museum was painted as well as the picnic tables, park benches, flag pole, and fences. Repairs were made to the pavilion, a ditch by the cemetery fence was filled in, top soil was spread on the lawns, the dead trees were removed and others trimmed, flowers were planted, and the paths were raked and trimmed. Locks were installed on some of the museum cases and additional exhibits were received.

During the year 75,571 persons signed the museum register book.

Fort Lennox National Historic Park is located on Ile-aux-Noix in the Richelieu River, about thirteen miles south of St. Johns, Quebec. The present fort, which stands on the site of one previously erected by the French, was built by the Imperial authorities in the period from 1812 to 1827. The island, comprising an area of 150 acres, was acquired by the National Parks Service in 1921, and extensive works have since been carried out on the buildings and grounds.

New flooring was laid in a section of the Mens' Barracks and a further section of the old flooring was removed to make way for additional new flooring which will be laid shortly. The Powder Magazine and the stone stairs at the rear of the Mens' Barracks were repointed, the bridge over the moat at the south entrance was repaired, cement steps were constructed leading up from the west wharf and a cement cover was made for the septic tank. A small building was erected to house the park equipment, and the doors of the casemates were painted, as well as the floor of the museum, toilets, picnic tables, boathouse, and bridges. The windows of the various buildings were repaired, one of the fireplaces in the picnic grounds was rebuilt, the lawn on the parade ground was levelled and rolled, the grass along

the ramparts and in the cemeteries was trimmed and the bronze tablets on the island were cleaned.

Visitors registered at the park during the year numbered 9,668.

Fort Wellington National Historic Park is situated at the east end of the town of Prescott, Ontario, and adjacent to Highway No. 2. The fort, named after the Duke of Wellington, was erected when the British authorities decided to fortify Prescott as one of the most vulnerable points of attack in the War of 1812, and as the main base for the defence of communications between Kingston and Montreal. It remains as it was when finally completed in 1838, an impressive landmark.

The fort buildings were painted, repairs were made to the palisades and to the entrance of the Caponniere, the masonry at the entrance to the fort was repointed and repairs were made to the chimneys of the original Officers' Quarters, which is now used as the custodian's residence. Special electric lighting was installed in the new display cases obtained for the museum and additional exhibits were received. The grass on the front of the park property and on the lawn and inner mounds was trimmed, flowers were planted, and an incinerator was built.

A total of 8,097 persons signed the museum register during the year.

Fort Malden National Historic Park is situated in Amherstburg, Ontario. The fort was built in 1797-9 by the Second Battalion, Royal Canadian Volunteers. It was strengthened in 1812 as the principal military station on the western frontier and dismantled and abandoned in September, 1813. Only slight evidences of the original fortifications remain.

The driveway and paths were levelled and given a covering of crushed stone, the iron fences and park benches were painted, and stone steps were constructed on the slope of the moat. The grass on the lawns was cut and the trees and shrubs were trimmed. Additional exhibits of interest were obtained for the museum.

During the year 15,564 persons signed the museum register.

Fort Prince of Wales National Historic Park is situated at the mouth of Churchill River, Churchill, Manitoba, and comprises an area of approximately fifty acres. The fort was built from plans drawn by English military engineers to secure control of Hudson Bay for the Hudson's Bay Company and England. Construction was commenced in 1733 and completed in 1771. It was surrendered to, and partially destroyed by, a French naval force under La Perouse in 1782. Its ruins, which are among the most interesting military remains on this continent, have been partly restored and more than forty cannon have been unearthed. Those suitable have been mounted on the walls of the fort.

General supervision was carried out.

Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park is situated on the west bank of the Red River about twenty miles north of Winnipeg, Manitoba, and comprises an area of approximately 12.75 acres. It was built between 1831 and 1839 by the Hudson's Bay Company and, although never besieged, played an important part in meeting the threat of war and rebellion. Indian Treaty No. 1 was signed there on August 3, 1871. It remained a place of considerable importance until about 1882 when the head of navigation for the Red River was removed from there to old Colville Landing on the opposite side of the river near Selkirk.

Restoration and repointing was carried out on the walls of the fort, a mastic cap was placed on the top of the walls, the bastions were cleaned out and repaired, drains were installed and a flag pole was erected. The buildings and grounds have been leased to the Motor Country Club until December 31, 1955.

Fort Battleford National Historic Park is situated in the Townsite of Battleford, four miles south of the City of North Battleford and comprises 36.7 acres. The buildings include the Superintendent's House, Inspector's Cottage, Guard Room, Hospital Stable, and Barracks. The first three buildings formed part of the original Mounted Police Post established there in 1876 by Colonel James Walker and linked up with such posts as Macleod, Fort Walsh, Calgary, Edmonton, Carlton, and Swan River. Located in the territory of the Cree Indian, this old post had a stabilizing and encouraging effect in the settlement of the Prairie Provinces, and, during the Rebellion of 1885, many settlers sought shelter and protection there. It was also the place of execution of those who were sentenced to death for participation in the Frog Lake Massacre.

A section of the stockade was torn down and rebuilt, two bastions were constructed, lightning arresters were installed on all the buildings and a fence was erected to enclose the park property. The interior and exterior of the Superintendent's House was painted as well as the roofs of the Guard House and Hospital Stable. Additional show cases were acquired for the museum, a number of mannequins were obtained to display the old uniforms on hand, the exhibits were cleaned and re-arranged and additional items of interest were purchased. The entrance road from the main highway was repaired, the inner driveway was graded and gravelled, a well was dug, road signs were erected, trees were planted, and the lawns were trimmed and sprayed.

Visitors registered during the year numbered 11,259.

NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES

Maurice Galbraith Cullen, R.C.A., St. John's, Newfoundland. A tablet was erected in the Hall of Memorial University to Maurice Galbraith Cullen, distinguished painter of the Canadian winter scene. The tablet was unveiled by Sir Leonard Outerbridge, Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland, on January 16, 1952.

Alcock-Brown Transatlantic Flight, St. John's, Newfoundland. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected in a small park at the

intersection of LeMarchant Road and Patrick Street to Captain Sir John Alcock and Lieutenant Sir Arthur Whitten Brown of the R.A.F., who, at 12.58 P.M. Newfoundland time, on June 14, 1919, took off near by in a Vickers Vimy aeroplane, on the first non-stop Trans-atlantic flight. Sixteen hours and twelve minutes later they landed at Clifton, Ireland, a distance of 1800 miles. The monument was unveiled in the presence of a distinguished gathering, including Sir Leonard Outerbridge, Lieutenant-Governor of Newfoundland, on November 26, 1952.

Scots Fort, Port Royal National Historic Park, Lower Granville, N. S. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected to mark the site of Scots Fort, built in the form of a pentagon, mounting "4 demi-colverin and 4 miniones", and occupied by the colonists of Sir William Alexander, 1629-32. On the restoration of Port Royal to France in 1632, forty-two survivors of the Scottish colony were sent to England by Commander de Razilly, in the "Saint Jean", one of the three ships in which he brought the new French colony to Acadia.

Gilbert Stuart Newton, R.A., Halifax, N. S. A tablet was affixed to the Nova Scotia College of Art building to Gilbert Stuart Newton, first native-born artist to be elected to the Royal Academy. Subject of Israel Zangwill's novel "The Master." The tablet was unveiled on October 24, 1952, by Reverend James W. Falconer, Professor Emeritus of Pine Hill Divinity Hall and President of the Board of Directors of the Nova Scotia College of Art.

George Munro Grant, Stellarton, N. S. A tablet was affixed to the Town Hall to George Munro Grant, educationist and author of "Ocean to Ocean." He was Minister of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, 1863-77; Principal of Queen's University, 1877-1902 and President of the Royal Society of Canada, 1901.

The Pony Express, Victoria Beach, N. S. A tablet was affixed to a large boulder on the north side of the main road to commemorate the events connected with the Pony express. From February until November, 1849, when the telegraph office in Halifax was opened, news from Great Britain to the United States brought by the Cunard steamers, was expressed for The Associated Press and a rival organization from Halifax to Digby Gut, by riders who changed at Kentville but had fresh mounts every twelve miles of the 144 mile route. The news was carried by steamer to Saint John and from there dispatched to its destination by telegraph.

The Citadel, Halifax, N. S. The custody of certain lands and structures comprising the Citadel was taken over by the Department in 1951 with a view to their development and preservation. The construction of this fortification was commenced in 1828 and completed 30 years later. Additional restoration and improvement work on a large scale was carried out on this old structure during the year.

John Clarence Webster, C.M.G., Saint John, N. B. A tablet was erected in the main hall of the New Brunswick Museum to John Clarence Webster, eminent surgeon, historian, author and professor. He was a leader in the movement for the preservation of Canada's historic past. The tablet was unveiled by Mrs. Webster on September 25, 1952.

William Davidson, Newcastle, N. B. A tablet was affixed to the Court House building to William Davidson, the first English-speaking settler in Miramichi. He was a pioneer in the fishing, masting, lumbering and ship-building industries, and had interests in foreign trade.

Archbishop Taché, Rivière-du-Loup, P.Q. A tablet affixed to an iron standard was erected on De Gaspé Avenue to Alexandre Antonin Taché, Archbishop of Saint Boniface. He was a well known missionary, writer, founder, and statesman.

First Butter Factory in Canada, Athelstan, P.Q. A tablet affixed to an iron standard was erected on the grounds of the Champlain Milk Products Company, Limited, to mark the spot where, in 1873, the First Butter Factory in Canada was established. The tablet was unveiled on October 28, 1952, by members of the local dairy industry.

Battle of Montmorency, Courville, P.Q. A cut-stone monument was erected on the east side of Courville Hill to commemorate the Battle of Montmorency which took place there on July 31, 1759, when the French troops, under Montcalm and Levis, repulsed General Wolfe's army.

The Quebec Fortification Walls, Quebec, P.Q. A considerable portion of these historic walls, exclusive of the Citadel and that part of the walls controlled by the City of Quebec, was taken over by the Department in 1950 in order that they may be maintained and preserved as a national historic site. Additional repair work on quite a large scale was carried out during the year on that section of the walls that has been acquired.

Sir John Alexander Macdonald, Kingston, Ont. A tablet was affixed to the existing monument in City Park to Sir John Alexander Macdonald, 1815-1891. First elected from Kingston to the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada in 1844, he was for forty-seven years a leading figure in the public life of his country. One of the Fathers of Confederation, he became the first Prime Minister of Canada and held the office 1867-73; 1878-91. Under his leadership the new Dominion was extended from sea to sea by incorporation of the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island, and linked together by construction of the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways.

First Military Test Flight, Petawawa, Ont. A tablet was affixed to a cairn on the camp grounds to commemorate the first military demonstration of aircraft flight in Canada which was given there in August, 1909, by J. A. D. McCurdy and F. W. Baldwin, with the assistance of the Royal Canadian Engineers. On the morning of August 2, they made four successful flights in the "Silver Dart". This aircraft was destroyed in landing after the fifth flight. Further flights were made in the "Baddeck No. 1" on August 12 and 13. The tests were terminated on the 13th, when this aircraft was damaged. A second tablet depicting the "Silver Dart" in flight was also affixed to the cairn. The monument was unveiled by the Honourable Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Defence, on August 12, 1952.

Archibald McKellar MacMechan, Kitchener, Ont. A tablet was erected in the Kitchener and Waterloo Collegiate and Vocational School to Archibald McKellar MacMechan, scholar, teacher, and author. He

was Professor of English in Dalhousie University, 1889-1933. The tablet was unveiled on October 17, 1952.

Grant Allen, Kingston, Ont. A tablet was affixed to one of the stone pillars at the entrance to Alwington House to Grant Allen, popular writer on science and successful novelist.

Jean (McKishnie) Blewett, Chatham, Ont. A tablet was erected in the Public Library building to Jean (McKishnie) Blewett, poet, journalist, and novelist. The tablet was unveiled under the auspices of the Kent County Historical Society, on April 23, 1952.

Battlefield of the Beechwoods or Beaver Dams, Thorold, Ont. A special tablet was affixed to the existing cairn, to the United States soldiers who were killed in the engagement which took place there on June 24, 1813. Their place of burial, about half a mile west of the cairn, is marked by a monument erected privately in 1874.

William Saunders, London, Ont. A tablet was affixed to a boulder erected by the local Public Utilities Commission in Campbell Memorial Park to William Saunders, Scientific Agriculturist and Director of the Federal Experimental Farms Branch, 1886-1911. He was President of the Royal Society of Canada, 1906. The tablet was unveiled under the auspices of the London and Middlesex Historical Society on October 1, 1952.

William Canniff, Cannifton, Ont. A tablet was erected in the Public School to William Canniff, physician, author, and historian of Early Upper Canada. The tablet was unveiled under the auspices of the Public School officials on November 13, 1952.

Fort Dauphin, Winnipegosis, Man. A cairn with tablet was erected in the Village Park to commemorate the historic events connected with Fort Dauphin which was built in that vicinity in 1741 by Pierre de La Verendrye at the request of the Crees and Assiniboines. The cairn was unveiled in the presence of a distinguished gathering, including the Honourable Douglas Campbell, Premier of Manitoba, on August 17, 1952.

Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Man. A tablet was erected at the front entrance to the Legislative Building, to commemorate Manitoba becoming a Province of Canada. This important event took place on July 15, 1870, following two centuries of government under the Charter of 1670 to the Hudson's Bay Company, the administrations of the Selkirk Colony, the Council of Assiniboia, and the Provisional Government of 1869. The tablet was unveiled by His Excellency the Governor-General on October 28, 1952.

The Reverend George Bryce, Winnipeg, Manitoba. A tablet was affixed to the outer wall of the new Library and Theological building of the United College to the Reverend George Bryce, historian and teacher. He was the author of "The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company" and Founder of Manitoba College.

Cut Knife Battlefield, Poundmaker Indian Reserve No. 114, Sask. A cut-stone monument with tablet was erected on the site of the engagement which took place on May 2, 1885, when Lt. Col. W. D. Otter led 325 troops composed of North West Mounted Police, "B" Battery, "C" Company, Foot Guards, Queen's Own and Battleford Rifles, against the Cree and Assiniboine under Poundmaker and Fine

Day. After an engagement of six hours, the troops retreated to Battleford. The monument was unveiled by His Excellency the Governor-General on November 2, 1952.

Province of Saskatchewan, Regina, Sask. A tablet was affixed to a cut-stone monument in Victoria Park to commemorate Saskatchewan becoming a Province of Canada. Across this expanse of prairie, and northland of lake, stream and forest, drained by the Saskatchewan and Churchill Rivers, the Plains Indians roamed for centuries and later were induced to trap and trade by fur companies. Settlers were attracted into this area known as Rupert's Land and the North West Territories. The latter, after 1870, were ruled by a Provisional Council, succeeded in 1875 by the North West Council. By 1888 a Legislative Assembly was evolved. On September 4, 1905, the eastern portion of these territories was inaugurated by Earl Grey and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as the Province of Saskatchewan.

Paul Kane, Fort Battleford National Historic Park, Battleford, Sask. A tablet was erected in the museum building to Paul Kane whose paintings preserve for posterity the life of the Indians of the Northwest. The tablet was unveiled by His Excellency the Governor-General on November 3, 1952.

Fort Benton-Fort Macleod Trail, Coutts, Alta. A cut-stone monument with bronze tablet was erected near the new Customs and Immigration building to commemorate the Fort Benton-Fort Macleod Trail. Until the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway across the prairies in 1882 and 1883 the most practicable route to southern Alberta was by the Missouri River to Fort Benton and thence northward along the Fort Benton Trail by mule and bull team, cart and covered wagon, to Fort Macleod. The Trail crossed the international border about seven miles west of Coutts. By it came most of the travellers, mail and supplies for the region. The monument was unveiled by His Honour John J. Bowlen, Lieutenant Governor of Alberta, on September 14, 1952.

Charles Alexander Magrath, Lethbridge, Alta. A tablet was erected in the City Hall to Charles Alexander Magrath, who, from 1878 to 1906, helped to make foundation surveys of the North West Territories and to develop the pioneer coal mining, railway and irrigation enterprises of Sir A. T. Galt and associates. He was the first Mayor of Lethbridge, a member of the Territorial Legislature and of Parliament, Chairman of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, Chairman of the Canadian Section of the International Joint Waterways Commission, and member of the Newfoundland Royal Commission (1935). From youth to old age and from sea to sea he served Canada with uprightness and vision. The tablet was unveiled under the auspices of the Mayor and Council of the City of Lethbridge, on September 16, 1952.

Fort St. James, Stuart Lake, B.C. A cairn with tablet was erected on property belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company to commemorate the historic events connected with Fort St. James. Founded in 1806 by Simon Fraser of the North West Company this fort has been the chief fur trading post in north-central British Columbia, formerly known as New Caledonia. Since 1821 it has been in con-

tinuous operation by the Hudson's Bay Company. As early as 1811 the Nor-Westers began here to cultivate the soil. Fort St. James has been a most important link in the water, land, and air communication with northern British Columbia.

Fort Victoria, Victoria, B. C. A tablet was affixed to the Government Street face of the Pemberton-Holmes building to mark the site of Fort Victoria. Founded by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1843, this fort became, after 1846, the headquarters of the Company's trade in British territory west of the Rocky Mountains. When the Colony of Vancouver Island was formed in 1849 Victoria was the capital, and in the fort the first Legislative Assembly met. The gold rush of 1858 led to the development of the City of Victoria. The early history of the city and the colony is closely intertwined with that of the fort. The last of the original buildings was demolished in 1862. The tablet was unveiled under the auspices of the Victoria Section of the British Columbia Historical Society, on August 28, 1952.

Richard Blanshard, Victoria, B. C. A tablet was affixed to the Post Office Section of the new Public Building on Government Street to Richard Blanshard, first Governor of Vancouver Island, 1849-1851, whose house stood on that site. The tablet was unveiled by the Rt. Hon. Louis S. St. Laurent, Prime Minister of Canada, on September 5, 1952.

Dr. John Stanley Plaskett, C.B.E. Victoria, B.C. A tablet was affixed to the telescope at the Dominion Astrophysical Observatory to Dr. John Stanley Plaskett, internationally renowned for his work in astronomy. He was Director of this Observatory, 1918-1935. The tablet was unveiled at a Joint Meeting of the American Astronomical Society and the Astronomical Society of the Pacific on June 26, 1952.

PERSONAL NOTES PERSONNELLES

The modesty displayed by members of the Association is most becoming. At the same time it is most distressing to the editor of these notes who has to find some items of personal interest in order to fill the page allotted to him. If some members feel that they have been slighted when they fail to find their activities or honours unrecorded they have but to remember their failure to respond promptly to the circular sent to universities and archives and the appeals made in this section in previous years. Here, in any event, is what has been culled from the correspondence received and from hearsay (admissible in evidence as far as this page is concerned). *Professor A. R. M. Lower* of Queen's was awarded a Coronation Medal as president of Section II of the Royal Society of Canada. Other members receiving the Coronation Medal included *Colonel C. P. Stacey* and *W. G. Ormsby*, president and treasurer respectively of the Association. *D. C. Masters* of Bishops and *G. F. G. Stanley* of R.M.C. were elected Fellows of the Royal Society at London in June. There were three retirements from senior appointments in the History Departments of U.B.C., Alberta and McMaster, including those of *W. N. Sage*, *M. H. Long* and *Norman Macdonald*. They have been succeeded by *F. H. Soward*, *Ross Collins* and *Togo Salmon*. *Rev. Malcolm MacDonell* of St. Francis Xavier University is being granted a year's leave of absence to continue Graduate Studies at the University of Toronto.

Among the promotions are those of *R. M. Saunders* who has been appointed full professor at the University of Toronto. *G. Rothney*, who has been appointed professor at Memorial University (Newfoundland), *H. W. McCready* who has been appointed associate professor at McMaster, and *G. M. Craig* who has been appointed assistant professor at Toronto. *Dr. Keppel-Jones* of Johannesburg, South Africa, has been appointed to a special lectureship at Queen's. Other new lecturers include *W. H. Nelson* and *P. White* at Toronto, *Charles Johnston* at McMaster and *John Norris* at U. B. C. *George Brown* is on a year's leave of absence in England where he is studying Commonwealth problems under a Carnegie grant. *Miss S. C. Cox* and *Miss M. Banks* have joined the staff of the Ontario Department of Public Records and Archives. *R. H. Roy* has left the Army Historical Section to join the staff of the Public Archives. Members of the Association who attended the Congress of Universities of the Commonwealth at Cambridge University were *D. G. Creighton* (Toronto), *G. O. B. Davies* (U.B.C.), *H. N. Fieldhouse* (McGill), *J. A. Gibson* (Carleton), *D. G. G. Kerr* (Mount Allison), *J. F. Leddy* and *W. Lightbody* (Saskatchewan), *R. S. Longley* (Acadia), *M. MacDonell* (St. Francis Xavier), *N. A. M. Mackenzie* (U. B. C.), *W. A. Mackintosh* (Queens), *G. F. G. Stanley* (R.M.C.), *L. G. Thomas* (Alberta).

Les nouvelles qui nous parviennent des activités de nos membres de langue française sont également insuffisantes. Voici cependant quelques renseignements que le rédacteur est en mesure de vous transmettre. *M. Jean Bruchési*, l'ancien président de la Société Historique du

Canada a été élu président de la Société Royale du Canada. *M. Bruchési* a donné une série de conférences sur le Canada en France aux universités de Strasbourg, Lyon, Toulouse, Rennes et Bordeaux, sous les auspices de l'Institut Scientifique Franco-Canadien. Il a donné deux conférences sur le Canada à Madrid sous les auspices de sociétés culturelles. *M. Marius Barbeau*, ethnologue et folkloriste, a reçu un doctorat d'honneur de l'Université d'Oxford à l'occasion des fêtes du cinquantenaire des Rhodes Scholars. *Le chanoine Victor Tremblay* de Chicoutimi a été élu président de la Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Eglise. *M. Antoine Roy*, secrétaire de langue française de la Société Historique a été élu premier vice-président de la même société. *L'abbé Arthur Maheux* a abandonné sa chaire d'histoire à la Faculté de Commerce de l'Université Laval. *M. Fernand Ouellet* l'a remplacé. *M. Maheux* a été fait membre du Conseil de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Ottawa. L'Académie Française a couronné l'ensemble des écrits de l'abbé Maheux. *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, dont *M. A. Roy* est le directeur, entrera dans quelques mois dans sa 60e année d'existence. *Le Père Adrien Pouliot* du Collège des Jésuites de Québec a pris part au Summer School of Indian Archeology sous les auspices de l'Université de Western Ontario. Il a entrepris une tournée dans les maisons d'éducation de la Province de Québec en vue d'illustrer les origines du culte marial en Nouvelle France.

The Association notes with regret the death of the following members: *Honourable F. E. Bronson*, Ottawa; *Professor H. A. Innis*, Toronto; *Honourable O. S. Tyndale*, Montreal; *Dr. W. Inglis Morse*, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A. *Dr. Morse*, who died in June 1952 was a life member since 1945 and a staunch friend of the Association; and *Pierre-Georges-Roy*. *M. Roy* was Provincial Archivist of Quebec and founder of the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING

The thirty-second Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association was held at the University of Western Ontario, London, on June 4-6, 1953. After registration a session, sponsored jointly by the Association and the London and Middlesex Historical Society, was devoted to the history and geography of the peninsula of South-Western Ontario. A paper, "The Geographic Basis of the Regions of South-Western Ontario", was read by Professor R. W. Packer. Dr. J. J. Talman read a paper on "The Development of the Railway Network of South-Western Ontario." Members then attended a reception at the London Hunt and Country Club given by the University. The evening session, under the chairmanship of Dr. G. E. Hall, President of the University of Western Ontario, was devoted to the presidential addresses of the Association and the Canadian Political Science Association. Herbert Marshall, President of the Canadian Political Science Association, spoke on "The Role of the Bureau of Statistics in the Post-war World"; C. P. Stacey, President of the Canadian Historical Association, described the problem of transcontinental communication in Canada in his address, "The Backbone of Canada." The morning of June 5th, was devoted to a discussion of the archival scene in Canada. The following papers were read: "The Provincial Archival Scene", by Dr. W. E. Ireland, Provincial Archivist of British Columbia, and "The Federal Archival Scene", by Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa. An Archives Committee of the Association was then appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. G. E. Spragge, Provincial Archivist of Ontario, to consider the problem of archives and bring it more effectively within the purview of the Association. In the afternoon J. R. Gwynne-Timothy spoke on "The Role of Overseas Colonies in the European Power Balance, 1793-1815"; A. Godbout offered a paper on "Les Ecoles françaises d'Ontario avant 1785"; and S. F. Wise discussed "Simcoe and the Frontier Crises." The evening meeting was devoted to the life and work of one of the leading scholars in Canadian historical studies, the late Professor Harold A. Innis. As was fitting the session was a joint venture of the Association and the Canadian Political Science Association and included papers by Professor J. B. Brebner on "Innis as Historian", and by Professor W. T. Easterbrook on "Innis and Economics". The morning of the final day was given over to meetings of Council and the General Meeting of the Association. Votes of thanks were passed to Dr. G. E. Hall, President of the University of Western Ontario, for the hospitality of the University; Dr. J. J. Talman and the Committee on Local Arrangements for an interesting programme and splendid amenities; Col. C. P. Stacey, immediate past president of the Association, for the energy and initiative displayed in guiding the Association in 1952-53, and all those persons who presented papers at the Annual Meeting.

The following officers were elected for the year 1953-54: *President*, M. H. Long; *Vice-President*, J. J. Talman; *English Language Secretary*, D. M. L. Farr; *French Language Secretary*, Antoine

Roy; *Treasurer*, W. G. Ormsby; *Editor of the Annual Report*, G. F. G. Stanley; *Associate Editors of the Annual Report*, P. G. Cornell and Leopold Lamontagne. The following members were elected to the Council of the Association to take the place of those whose terms had expired: W. R. Graham; J. J. Lefebvre; F. MacKinnon; G. W. Nicholson. J. M. Careless was named representative for the *Canadian Historical Review*. R. G. Glover was named Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements for the 1951 Annual Meeting. In addition to these officers it was decided to invite His Excellency, the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, C.H., Governor-General of Canada, to accept the appointment of Honourary President.

At London the Association decided to produce a series of historical pamphlets, each written by a recognized authority, with the object of making available to teachers and others the results of the latest research on a wide variety of topics in Canadian history. These pamphlets will be designed to serve the purposes of the elementary and high school teacher who finds it difficult to keep abreast of current writing in Canadian history; but it is expected that they will have an appeal to the ordinary reader as well. They will be short works and will be published in an attractive format and at a nominal cost. Through the sponsorship of a series of this nature the Association hopes to be able to make a contribution to the removal of misconception and prejudice in Canadian history as well as to lay a firm foundation in historical knowledge for coming generations of Canadians. The first three pamphlets of this series will be written by Col. C. P. Stacey, Dr. George F. G. Stanley and Dr. Guy Frégault.

D. M. L. FARR.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER—RAPPORT DU TRÉSORIER
STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR
THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1953.

CURRENT ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand & in Bank, May 1, 1952.....			\$ 527.10
Bank Interest		\$7.92	
Membership Fees	\$2,782.23		
Less amount collected for joint membership and remitted to Canadian Political Science Association	357.50	2,424.73	
Sale of Reports.....		110.00	
Printing of Historic Sites and Monuments Board's Report in Annual Report.....		59.44	2,602.09
			<u>\$3,129.19</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Canadian Passenger Association.....		2.75	
Audit Fee		15.00	
Exchange	30.10		
Less Exchange added to cheques received.....	25.31	4.79	
Discount on U. S. Funds.....		8.95	
University of Toronto Press:			
Canadian Historical Review.....		1,223.20	
Tribune Press:			
Printing of Report.....		788.03	
Bulletin des Recherches Historiques.....		115.65	
Cheques returned by Bank re Membership Fees...		9.15	
Refund to F. W. Faxon re Membership Fees.....		4.15	
Administration:			
Clerical Assistance	100.00		
Leclerc Printers	121.00		
Petty Cash including Postage.....	156.96	377.96	2,549.63
Cash on hand and in the Bank April 30, 1953.....			579.56
			<u>\$3,129.19</u>

TRAVELLING ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

Balance in Bank May 1st, 1952.....			\$ 555.99
Grant from Quebec Provincial Secretary.....	\$ 250.00		
Bank Interest	4.08	254.08	
			<u>\$ 810.07</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Grants to Members for 1952 Meeting.....	450.00		
Bank Service Charge.....	1.04		
Balance in Bank April 30, 1953.....	359.03	\$ 810.07	

RESERVE ACCOUNT

Balance May 1st, 1952:

In Bank.....	\$ 851.76		
Dominion of Canada Bonds.....	1,508.12	\$2,359.88	

Receipts:

Bank Interest	12.90		
Bond Interest	45.00	57.90	
Life Membership Fees.....		150.00	
Grant from Canadian Social Science Research Council.....		700.00	907.90
			<u>\$3,267.78</u>

Disbursements:

Index Compilation.....		190.30	
Leclerc Printers Printing Index		621.50	
Transferred to Current Account for Reports supplied to Life Members.....		52.91	
Exchange35		
Less Exchange added to cheques received.....	.15	.20	864.91

Balance April 30, 1953:

In Bank.....		894.75	
Dominion of Canada Bonds:			
\$ 500.00 3% due 1963 at cost.....	500.00		
1,000.00 3% due 1966 at cost.....	1,008.12	1,508.12	2,402.87
			<u>\$3,267.78</u>

Examined with the books and vouchers
and found correct.

CHARLES W. PEARCE
Certified Public Accountant.

W. G. ORMSBY
Treasurer.

Ottawa, May 15th, 1953.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(A) AFFILIATED SOCIETIES — SOCIÉTÉS AFFILIÉES

- American Antiquarian Society*, C. K. Shipton, Librarian, Salisbury Street and Park Avenue, Worcester 5, Mass. U.S.A.
- American Geographical Society*, Miss Eva L. Yonge, Map Curator, Broadway at 156 Street, New York 32, N. Y., U.S.A.
- Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal*, Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal, P.Q.
- Côte Nord, la Société Historique de la*, Mgr. René Belanger, président, Baie-Comeau, Saguenay, P.Q.
- Essex County Historical Association*, Dr. B. Morrison, 112 Chilver Road, Windsor, Ont.
- Finnish Canadian Historical Society*, Mrs. A. W. Este, asst. secretary, P. O. Box 245, Sudbury, Ont.
- Franco-Américaine, la Société Historique*, M. l'abbé Adrien Verette, président, 46 Landon Street, Plymouth, N. H., U.S.A.
- Kamloops Museum Association*, Seymour Street, Kamloops, B. C.
- Kamouraska, la Société Historique de*, M. l'abbé Léon Belanger, secrétaire, Collège de Ste. Anne, Kamouraska, P.Q.
- Kingston Historical Society*, Lt. Col. Courtlandt M. Strange, president, R. A. Preston, Secretary, Royal Military College, Kingston, Ont.
- Lincoln Historical Society*, Miss Kathleen Duff, secretary, 52½ Thomas Street, St. Catherine's, Ont.
- MacNab Historical Association*, P. O. Box 155, Foleyet, Ont.
- Montréal, la Société Historique de*, Mlle. Gabrielle Carrière, secrétaire, 1210 est, rue Sherbrooke, Montréal, P.Q.
- Nova Scotia Historical Society*, G. T. Miller, treasurer, Bank of Commerce Bldg., Halifax, N. S.
- Ontario Historical Society*, J. C. Boylen, secretary, 206 Huron Street, Toronto, Ont.
- Québec, la Société Historique de*, M. l'abbé Honorius Provost, secrétaire, Université Laval, Québec, P.Q.
- Quebec, Literary and Historical Society*, G. O. Bridge, treasurer, Box 399, Quebec, P.Q.
- Saanich Pioneers Society*, R. E. Nimmo, secretary, Sannichton, B. C.
- Saguenay, la Société Historique du*, André Lemieux, secrétaire, Chicoutimi, P. Q.
- Wisconsin State Historical Society*, C. L. Lord, director, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
- Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa*, Miss Rita Bennett, treasurer, Bytown Museum, Rideau Canal Locks, Ottawa, Ont.
- Women's Wentworth Historical Society*, Mrs. John Farmer, treasurer, 87 Charlton Avenue, West, Hamilton, Ont.
- York Pioneer and Historical Society*, W. E. Hanna, president, 182 Rosewell Avenue, Toronto 12, Ont.

(B) AFFILIATED LIBRARIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

BIBLIOTHÈQUES ET AUTRES ORGANISATIONS AFFILIÉES

- Acadia University*, The Library, H. K. Mosher, treasurer, Wolfville, N. S.
- American News Company, Inc.*, 131 Varick Street, New York 13, N. Y., U.S.A.
- Dept. of Public Records and Archives*, Geo. W. Spragge, Archivist, 14 Queen's Park Crescent West, Toronto 5, Ont.
- Bank of Canada*, Research Dept., Ottawa, Ont.
- Bank of Nova Scotia*, The Library, Dept. of Economics, Toronto, Ont.
- British Museum, The*, Department of Printed Books, London, W.C.I., England.
- Brown University*, The Library, David A. Jonah, Librarian, Providence 12, Rhode Island, U.S.A.
- Calgary Public Library*, W. R. Castell, Librarian, Calgary, Alta.
- Carleton College*, The Library, 268 First Avenue, Ottawa, Ont.

- Chicoutimi, Séminaire de, la Bibliothèque, Chicoutimi, P.Q.*
Citizenship and Immigration Dept., Room 103, West Block, Ottawa, Ont.
Clark University, the Library, 1 Downing Street, Worcester 10, Mass., U.S.A.
Cleveland Public Library, 325 Superior Avenue N. E., Cleveland 14, Ohio, U.S.A.,
 Mrs. Minnie S. Monti, Chief, Order Division.
Columbia University, The Libraries, South Hall, Columbia University, New York
 27, N. Y., U.S.A.
Dalhousie University, The Library, Miss Ivy M. Prickler, Asst. Librarian, Halifax,
 N. S.
Dartmouth College, The Library, Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A., Irene Donahue,
 Order Dept.
Dora Hood's Book Room, 720 Spadina Avenue, Toronto 4, Ont.
External Affairs, Dept. of, The Librarian, Miss G. M. Hart, Ottawa, Ont.
Fraser Institute, Free Public Library, 637 Dorchester St. W., Montreal 2, P.Q.
Geology and Topography, Bureau of, Dept. of Mines and Geology, Victoria Museum,
 Ottawa, Ont.
Hamilton Public Library, Freda F. Waldon, Librarian, Hamilton, Ont.
Harvard College, The Library, Miss G. M. Sullivan, Order Department, Cambridge
 38, Mass., U.S.A.
Hudson's Bay Company, Canadian Committee Office, The Beaver, Hudson's Bay
 House, Winnipeg, Man.
Huntington Library and Art Gallery, Leslie E. Bliss, Librarian, San Marino, Zone
 15, Calif., U.S.A.
Indiana State Library, 140 N. Senate Avenue, Zone 4, Indianapolis, Indiana, U.S.A.
Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, London,
 W. C. 1, England.
Johns Hopkins University, The Library, Baltimore 18, Maryland, U.S.A.
King's College, The Librarian, Strand, London W. C. 2, England.
Kitchener Public Library, Elizabeth Moore, Librarian, Kitchener, Ont.
Legislative Library of Ontario, Miss Edith King, Librarian, Parliament Buildings,
 Toronto 2, Ont.
Legislative Library of Quebec, G. E. Marquis, Librarian, Parliament Bldgs.,
 Quebec, P.Q.
Legislative Library of Saskatchewan, Miss W. Lucy Rimmer, Principal Librarian,
 Room 234, Legislative Bldg., Regina, Sask.
Lévis, Collège de, La Bibliothèque, Lévis, P.Q.
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., U.S.A.
Library of Parliament, F. A. Hardy, Librarian, Ottawa, Ont.
London Public Library, Richard E. Crouch, Librarian, London, Ont.
McGill University, The Library, Richard Pennington, Librarian, 3459 McTavish
 St., Montreal 2, P.Q. (Redpath Library, Margaret Hibbard, Order Dept.)
McMaster University, The Library, Hamilton, Ont.
Midland Public Library, Dawson M. Leigh, Librarian, 224 Hugel Avenue West,
 Midland, Ont.
Montréal, Collège de, 1931 rue Sherbrooke ouest, Montréal, P.Q.
Montréal, Université de, Bibliothèque Centrale, Boite Postale 6128, Montréal, P.Q.
Mount Allison University, Memorial Library, Sackville, N. B.
National Defence, Dept. of, Army Headquarters, Ottawa, Ont.
National Liberal Federation of Canada, 130 Queen St., Ottawa, Ont.
National Parks and Historic Sites, James Smart, Controller, Dept. of Resources &
 Development, Norlite Bldg., Ottawa, Ont.
New York Public Library, Edward G. Freehafer, Acquisition Div., Room 116, 476
 5th Ave. New York 18, N. Y., U.S.A.
New York State Library, Albany, N. Y., U.S.A.
Ohio State University, University Library, Columbus 10, Ohio, U.S.A.
Peterborough Public Library, Wm. L. Graff, Librarian, Peterborough, Ont.
Prince of Wales College, Mary Donahoe, Librarian, Charlottetown, P. E. I.
Princeton, University, The Library, Lawrence Heyl, Associate Librarian, Princeton,
 N. J., U.S.A.
Provincial Archives of British Columbia, W. E. Ireland, Archivist, Victoria, B. C.
Provincial Library of Alberta, Mrs. Frank Gostick, Librarian, Parliament Bldgs.,
 Edmonton, Alta.
Provincial Library of Manitoba, J. L. Johnson, Librarian, Winnipeg, Man.
Public Archives of Canada, Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, Ottawa, Ont.

- Québec, Ministère des Terres et Forêts*, Monsieur le Sous-Ministre, Hôtel du Gouvernement, Québec, P.Q.
- Québec, Archives de la Province de*, La Bibliothèque, Parc des Champs de Bataille, Québec, P.Q.
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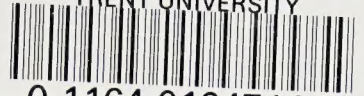
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